

BLACK FLAG

organ of the

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Vol. IV. No. 15 15p



Buback — before people's justice triumphed...



POLICEMAN GUARDING BODIES OF SLAIN BUBACK (INSET), AND HIS CHAUFFEUR

Buback Execution Document

The following document, issued by the "Ulrike Meinhof Commando, Red Army Fraction", was sent to us following the execution of Siegfried Buback, the German Federal Prosecutor in charge of the Baader-Meinhof trials. This document has not been published elsewhere and mere possession of it in Germany is sufficient cause for arrest and imprisonment :

On 7th April 1977, the Ulrike Meinhof Commando executed Federal Prosecutor Buback.

Buback was directly responsible for the murder of Holgar Meins, Siegfried Hausner and Ulrike Meinhof. In his role as Chief Federal Prosecutor — the central controlling and co-ordinating authority between the Department of Justice and the West German intelligence services, in close co-operation with the CIA and the NATO Security Committee — he stage managed and directed the murders.

Holgar Meins was murdered, under Buback's direction, on 9/11/74, through systematic starvation and deliberate manipulation of transportation times between Wittlich and Stammheim. The Federal attorney planned, through the murder of a group of prisoners on collective hunger strike, following the trial of Andreas (Baader), to bring about their destruction by ordering the prison authorities to institute force feeding — to stem the tide of awakening public sympathy — thus

killing him.

It was under Buback's direction that Siegfried (Hausner) — who led the Holgar Meins Commando and who showed his abilities, through the West German MEK-Union, in the blowing up of the German Embassy in Stockholm — was murdered on 4/5/75. Hausner was exclusively at the disposal of the Federal attorney and the BKA, and it was the perilous transit to Stuttgart-Stammheim prison which made his death inevitable.

Also under Buback's direction Ulrike (Meinhof) was executed by the State Police on 9/5/76. Her death was presented to the world as a suicide in order to demonstrate the senselessness of the politics for which Ulrike had struggled.

This murder was the climax in the Federal attorney's attempt to cretinise Ulrike through forced neurosurgical interference so that, demoralised, Stammheim law could be portrayed as justice triumphant while armed resistance could be denounced as a sickness.

Through international protest this project was hindered. The timing of her murder was calculated precisely : occurring before the crucial legal initiative of the defence proposals concerning the actions of the RAF (Red Army Fraction) against the US Headquarters in Frankfurt and Heidelberg in 1972 carried out to demonstrate the complicity of the BRD (Bundesrepublik-deutschland) with US aggression in Vietnam contrary to international law. Ulrike was murdered before she could speak out at the witness hearing in the Dusseldorf trial against the Holgar Meins Commando concerning the most extreme forms of torture practised on her over the previous eight months. Before her conviction — which critical international opinion, having seen the show trial in Stammheim with its cynical presentation of imperialist power, would have stopped in its tracks, something which the Federal government was apprehensive about.

Ulrike's story, clearly, is the same as that of many fighters in the history of the
cont. p. 9

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Our sincere apologies to all our readers for the extended delay between issues. The reason was a further two breakdowns of our typesetting machine. Not only has this thrown the Flag out of gear, but it will also mean a further delay in our forthcoming title "Land and Liberty" and the third issue of the Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review due for publication in September. We are also going to face a massive bill for repairs to our I.B.M. machine - far more than the £500.00 originally estimated - so all contributions towards this fund will be gratefully received. One comrade in particular, Dave Morris, has come forward with a contribution of £100.00 and a loan of a further £100.00 to meet the bill when it comes in. Comrade Karl Cordell organised a whip-round at a meeting of the Federation of London Anarchist Groups on April 30 and came up with £7.40. Are there any other comrades out there willing to help either with a loan or a contribution?

IMPORTANTISIMO!

Would all comrades please note that the C.N.T. is now a legal organisation and no longer operating in clandestinity. This means that all financial contributions towards supporting the confederal paper "C.N.T." - and the organisation - can now be made direct by MAIL TRANSFER from your bank to the following bank account: PEDRO BARRIO GUAZO, c.c. 8472, Banco Hispanoamericano, Oficina Urbana Lopez de Hoyos 126, Madrid 2, Espana.

Correspondence to the National Committee of the C.N.T. should be directed to: Jose Elizalde, Apartado de Correos 150.105, Madrid, Espana.

Exchange copies of all publications (2 copies, please) to the International Group concerned with collating news from the anarchist movement around the world and building a CNT

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. What has Mickey Mouse to do with socialism?
2. What connection has anarchist Peter Kropotkin with Soviet Military Intelligence?
3. Why is the term "chauvinist" inappropriate, though trendily used, to describe a sexually arrogant male?
4. What was the Impossibilist Party or fraction?
5. Which different political tendencies in the last century were represented by the Young Turks, Young England, Young Germany, Young Ireland and Young Italy?
6. Why is "Anarchy in the U.K." (the punk rock song) impossible.

Answers on p. 19

archive: CAMPO ABIERTO EDICIONES, (Boletin). Calle Concepcion Bahamonde No.10 Madrid 28, Espana.

The comrades at Campo Abierto will be publishing a regular international journal and press information service - all contributions gratefully received..

Haptoc Family International Needs Your Help

Help a Prisoner and Outlaw Torture Organising Committee (Haptoc) needs you and your assistance to help expose the state's behaviour in jails, prisons and concentration camps around the world, and at the same time work for the ending of the social conditions which give rise to crime, violence, prisons, police forces, armies and dictatorships of all kinds.

Please write to us:

- 1) ICAT (International Crusade Against Torture), P.O. Box 22523, Fazantenhof, Bijlmermeer, Amsterdam, Holland. Deals specifically with cases of torture, behaviour modification, and the humans under sentence of death... this struggle wing needs to be built up so that it can become an emergency wing capable of acting very rapidly.
- 2) ICAP (International Crusade Against Prisons), P.O. Box 27087, 1002-AB, Amsterdam, Holland. Deals with prison conditions, life imprisonment cases, prison slave labour... with an underlying strategy of ending the prison system altogether.
- 3) HAPTOC REBEL (newsletter of the HAPTOC Family International), P.O. Box 10638, Amsterdam, Holland. Carries news world

wide on the struggle against torture, the Death Penalty, and prisons; it carries many interesting articles, lists of prisoners to write to, and things one can do to help - it is FREE to all. (Donations/stamps are appreciated for printing, postage and support work.) HAPTOC needs human beings knowing and supporting human beings....

OLD PHOTOGRAPHS / ILLUSTRATED BOOKS, ETC....

Would all comrades and readers please keep their eyes open for any old - and not so old - illustrated books and photographs which could conceivably be of interest to comrade Flavio Costantini in his work of artistic documentation of the history of the anarchist and labour movement. If you come across something please send it to us here in Orkney and we'll forward it on.

SYNDICALIST WORKERS FEDERATION, c/o Grass Roots, 1 Newton St., Manchester, M1 1HW

ZERO - A new anarchist monthly with news of the CNT, Noel & Marie Murray, anarcho-feminism, and much, much more. More info, offers of help and contributions to BM Box 746, London WC1V 6XX. Subs: £3 for 3 issues payable to Zero Collective.

ANARCHY 22 - Irish issue, bound to increase Anarchy's mail-bag. Back copies, tea and "excitingly irregular" subs (£.150/\$3.75 or potatoes for 10 issues) from 29, Grosvenor Avenue, London N5.

WHAT A DIFFERENCE A DAY MAKES *Stop press p5.

A Premature Obituary



Werner Von Braun 1912-soon

Although Wernher Von Braun is still alive, though bed-ridden with a terminal case of cancer, we feel that this is the appropriate time to wish him a speedy death.

"The inventor of the V-2 rocket for Hitler during World War II and author of the book "I Shoot for the Stars" (and hit London?), Von Braun is directly responsible for the death of thousands of Britons during the final days of the War.

After a falling out with Hitler (Von Braun wanted to send a V-2 rocket over London every two minutes, while Hitler, humanitarian that he was, thought that one every hour was a fair exchange), Von Braun decided to seek employment with a more understanding government (England wanted him hung) and is now head of the U.S. rocket research division. Still shooting for the stars.

Well Wernher, we can't say it was nice having you around, but we do have one regret: that you will die at a plush hospital in the hands of trained physicians instead of at the hands of the workers you so eagerly slaughtered!

Fifth Estate, Detroit

DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN

SPAIN is now in the process of being transformed from a dictatorship to a 'democracy'. But what is a democracy nowadays? It is a dictatorship which does not hit you on the head. 'Democratic' politicians boast of their 'tolerance' and allow you to pick and choose amongst them, as opposed to boasting of their 'strength' and choosing for you. Only 41 years ago the Spanish workers resisted dictatorship and in the process seized and ran the whole of industry for themselves. They were crushed by political duplicity and armed force. They resisted armed forces for years and were the victims of genocide. Now when two sets of politicians, one lot which used the duplicity and the other lot which used the armed force, come forward and offer 'democracy' they look at it askance, without hiding their enthusiasm for change — which goes a lot farther than the politicians are prepared to offer.

They are demanding as a start total amnesty and free trade unionism. The two demands are minimal when one compares the compensation rightly though inadequately paid by the West German State to the Jewish victims of Hitler to *nothing* by the Spanish fascist State in Spain to its victims (and the number of Spanish workers killed by the Falange, the Army, the prison authorities, lynched or died as the result of prison since the Civil War, exceeds that of the German Jews killed by Hitler). What else are they getting out of the 'return to democracy' which the Government needs to sell the Common Market? The collectivised industries have long since been back in capitalist hands; savings, homes and jobs in the anti-Franco zones were wiped out by a bank decree which made the Republican money worthless; the unions — with daily newspapers paid for by the sweat of the workers, halls, cultural centres — were liquidated and their assets stolen (and the thieves still possess these assets); thousands went into exile, or into prison, or were killed. Who manufactured the 'criminals' for whom amnesty is demanded (as well as the political prisoners) but those who turned the workers' children out into the street when they shot or imprisoned the parents?

Total amnesty is a demand the Government is finding difficult to resist — hence the unprecedented step of allowing some Basque prisoners out provided they leave the country. Hence the solidarity with the Basque country — evinced by the complete stoppage of work in Catalonia (though opposed by the Communist Party which is at one with the demand for 'quiet elections'). The demands for no compulsory trade union levy (to the fascist vertical syndicates) and the right to choose the union, is a demand made by the libertarians. A minimal demand in Spain, it is beyond what we have in Britain when socialists, communists, maoists and trotskyists alike advocate one trade union centre, 'unitary', monolithic and utterly unrepresentative. In Spain it was imposed as part of the fascist conquest: in Britain it has been presented as part of the 'great struggle' of the British workers. What is shown here as the 'social contract', a product of social democracy and the 'labour movement', is in Spain clearly seen as the action of fascism in crushing the working class. They had to win a war to do it! However much the politicians may wish to do so, it is very difficult now to present it with the same adroitness that the Labour Party managed to do for the capitalist class in Britain — years of too much "knocking on the head" has strained credulity.

The centre parties cannot gain credence; the Marxist-Leninist parties show themselves in their true light for 'Vanguard' parties abound and all have the same programme — let the working class line up in reformist trade unions under their leadership ("they only have of themselves a trade union consciousness?" — didn't Big Daddy say so?) while the 'intellectuals' form the vanguards which will lead them to consciousness. Unfortunately for the theory however, the mass organisations of the working class reject their reformist programmes, don't want their party leadership, and are on their way to the 'left' of them. (Alas, too, for the poor foreign journalists trying to understand a situation where the extremists are anti-Moscow and the 'moderates' support it) How can the 'Vanguard' explain that the workers them-

selves cannot run the factories the way they once did and which was only taken from them by armed force?

The Spanish Government is at the moment scared stiff. It is between the devil of the Army and the right-wing terror gangs, armed by the military and encouraged by the police (often members of the police) which are determined to keep the working class down at all costs, even if it means going back to the worst excesses of Francoism, and the deep blue sea of a working class which is not content with the contemptuous offer of a coat of whitewash.

But while politicians may be scared for their skins, the Army and the various State military groupings (Guardia Civil, Guardia de Asalto) and armed police, and the terror gangs have got the guns and there will be no freedom without it having to be fought for bitterly. This time there will not be a civil war — it should be noted that if there were the socialists and communists would be lining up with the class enemy — but guerrilla war is inevitable. The creation of an anarcho-syndicalist labour movement, which is a major demand of the workers and which is growing rapidly, will not suffice despite the yearnings of many of the older generation and those influenced by leftism for peaceful transition now — a quiet life at last...

Even in the Republic there were attacks on workers' organisation by the Government which created the Guardia de Asalto specifically for that purpose, and by the Popular Front Government too. What chance is there that workers' organisation will be allowed to develop freely under this modified fascism that wavers between monarchy and constitutionalism, that sees a democratic solution in admitting the Communist Party to the role of running a monolithic union on the French line, in which the police can organise as murder gangs and pose as right wing extremists?

Massive support from outside Spain is needed to help the struggle. It didn't get it last time and it has never got it. With what result everyone knows to their cost.



Members of the Brigada Político Social arresting a demonstrator in Spain

(source "CNT")

ROON 'N' ABOOT

The London *Evening News* carried a feature on the "Swastika Revolution" linking the Sex Pistols ("Anarchy in the UK") and their fans with the National Front. Full of the sinister quasi-political insinuations that are ostensibly establishment liberal and in fact designed to boost the NF among working class youth.

There was a reply from their manager: "ANARCHY

I would like to point out that the Sex Pistols are not into any political party, least of all the loathsome National Front, mentioned by John Blake in the Swastika Revolution.

We and our fans, do not and will not co-operate or associate with the National Front.

Anarchy is not fascism but self-rule and a belief in following ones own way of life without recourse to dictatorship or nationalism. We hate this kind of army nonsense.

M. McLaren, Manager Sex Pistols, Oxford Street, W.1."

Their music may be as rotten as they say it is but what they are saying sounds as melodic as Beethoven.

Hitting the note of rebellion may nowadays hit the jackpot in the music scene — though we had to smile ruefully at the Melody Maker's headline "There's money in Anarchy" (for what we've picked up plus the proverbial ten cents you could get a cup of coffee) — and the pressure on the kids ultimately to conform will be great. But the punks are no punks in getting anarchy over to some of the kids in the working class where it belongs.

MORE ON THE NATIONAL FRONT

A sidelight on the National Front and its activists is seen in *Searchlight* (no.22). It refers to the late Mark Dinely, whose country house was raided in November 1970 — three years after the former editor of *Searchlight* had exposed Dinely's holding arms and using his extensive land for mock military battles under the guise of the Duke of Edinburgh Award scheme. The local police in Dorset were not interested in taking action against these men who were putting guns into the hands of boys and parading them in Nazi uniforms.

They were warned off by military intelligence, who removed some arms from Dinely. Then three years later, a large force of police "removed huge stores of arms and all sorts of other equipment."

They were fined a few hundred pounds; compare this with the Stoke Newington Four — charged with possessing a minor quantity of arms a year later and in prison ever since. Compare the Press furor when Anna and Hilary were finally released a few months before completing their

sentences. I omit Prescott, who looks as if he will be the "first in and last out" of prison, because he was not even found guilty of possessing arms, only of writing a few letters.

Dinely's political heir, according to *Searchlight*, is one Ian Souter-Clarence, who also uses the cover of the Duke of Edinburgh Award scheme, and tries for youth grants to train his private army to fight for a fascist dictatorship.

But while Right Wing authoritarian groups are protected and cosseted by police partiality, Left Wing authoritarians and even more libertarians, are harassed for the most minor offences relating to arms. Clearly this is preparation for civil war. Dinely was not the only one. There are dozens of para-military fascist groups openly training and using the cloak of respectability. It is *these* activities and not those of their political wing, that needs to be confronted. **The racist propaganda is only to neutralise, and maybe win over some punters from the working class. The military training is to smash the whole concept of working class organisation.** At the moment the capitalist class does not need a fascist movement. A liberal establishment is much more to its liking. But something that can, in an emergency, take up arms and win can never be ignored, and may be useful to the capitalists, especially if they could not rely on the armed forces, when challenged.

At the moment it is only a cover for closet worship of Hitler and a handy base for men who have other reasons than political for starting military Boy-Scout movements.

It won't stay that way.

MORE ABOUT JAKE ...

Jake Prescott has had 180 days of 700 days remission lost after the Hull Riot restored, together with some privileges and prison earnings he lost with the remission. Jake is now in Albany prison. In a letter to his solicitor the Home Office said "... the decision not to allow you to call the witnesses you asked for on the charge of assaulting a prison officer at 00.30 on 1 September 1976 may have prejudiced your defence."

Keith 'Blackie' Saxton, now in Lincoln prison (serving 12 years for conspiracy to rob and possession of firearms) has had 120 of 720 days forfeited remission restored.

Both Jake and Keith had petitioned the Home Secretary to have the procedures of Board of Visitors set aside. Both are also taking legal action against the Home Office to have adjudications quashed on the grounds that they breached the rules of natural justice in not allowing prisoners

adequate time to prepare their defence. A total of 180 prisoners received punishments varying from 60-810 days lost remission for taking part in the protests at Hull.

As things stand Jake, still having to serve an extra 18 months in prison, will become the first "Angry Brigade" defendant to go inside, but the last to come out. He deserves the solidarity of ALL our readers. We urge you all to write to the Home Secretary declaring your support for Jake and the other prisoners who lost remission at Hull.

OZYMANDIAS

In 'The Monument' by Robert Barltrop, the author recalls the appearance of 'new and unattractive types in the Socialist Party of Great Britain with the words "twenty years later, an anarchist paper, stung by an attack in the *Socialist Standard* recalled the SPGB having petty criminals and fraudsters and a couple who ran a call-girl agency in its ranks. Younger members were astonished and disbelieving; but it had only been too true."

The anarchist paper was your own friendly *Black Flag*. We were 'stung' by the references to the comrades on trial in the 'Stoke Newington' case. Barltrop, a veteran SPGBer, verifies the scandals (though he refrains from identifying one at least of the 'fraudsters' who ran some sort of charity for the blind while mentioning him in his capacity as a speaker and organiser). We were accused at the time of the article of lies and 'personal attacks' (their original remarks were regarded by them as fair criticism).

SHOOT FIRST ...

Equal Opportunity

The Police Central Firearms Unit in Essex opened its facilities to women for the first time during April. Twelve police-women, picked from 48 volunteers, received training in shooting .38 Smith & Wesson revolvers from the standing, kneeling and prone positions under the expert guidance of the unit's commander Inspector John Johnson. To be given a police gun permit ("licence to kill") trainees have to fire 36 times at a target up to 30 metres away and score 32 hits, including 18 in the 18in. x 12in. white centre.

Assistant Chief Constable Matt Comrie explained in the *Daily Express* (29.4.77): "... we are involved in a world where explosions and firearms are an everyday occurrence. It's the Baader-Meinhof syndrome and we have got to cater for it if it happens in our country."

"We give our people the capacity to kill" Inspector Johnson chipped in, "There is nothing glamorous in this. It is deadly serious." A sentiment echoed by one of the eager volunteers, Chief Inspector Lorna Brooks (the highest ranked woman in the force): "If it is a them-or-us situation we are trained to do it."

WONDER IN ACADEME

Michael Agoursky in the Times Literary Supplement ("Caleb Williams in Mojaisk") described how, when sent to a Russian prison camp, he found a small library of 600 or 700 books among which happened to be the Russian edition of William Godwin's "Caleb Williams." There were certain almost invisible underlinings, made by a prisoner who had read the book previously. Agoursky wonders at "the strangeness of the paths which led a minor eighteenth-century English novelist to cast his spell over a nameless Russian prisoner, and to awaken such a fervent echo in his or her heart" that is seen in the passages underlined.

These passages relate to injustice and oppression. It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Agoursky in writing his moving article, that Godwin was not only a minor eighteenth-century novelist but also is considered by many to be the "father of anarchism" and this would be exactly the book which a lone Anarchist fighter would select from this unexpected library.

A WARNING

A part-time barmaid, a comrade, overheard some customers discussing the case of Ulrike Meinhof. It might have been the beer talking, but they were certainly National Front sympathisers, and one — who could have been a prison warden — said "She might well have been killed, mind you. I can quite see the time might come when we would be in the same position here. You can't have anarchists in a prison and expect to maintain discipline unless you can make an example, whatever the pussyfooters might say."

Just in case any anarchist prisoners have it in mind to commit "suicide" we must warn them we have a detailed description of the gentleman in question, and the prison to which we suspect he is attached, which is the subject of a lodged affidavit.

SOUVENIRS OF LONG KESH

Never come to the notice of Special Branch? Give them a chance to open a file on you today! Support a prisoner in this country. We have a fine collection of "Long Kesh" wallets for sale for only £4.00 each. Hand made and finished with celtic designs — no two the same.

No profit made on the sale. The money goes direct to the prisoners so that they can buy clothes (no prison clothes are issued in Long Kesh). Moreover, having to make wallets helps to fill the long empty years behind the wire.

Send money/cheques/P.O.'s - WITH ORDER to: Robert Milner, c/o Box A.

Over the Water, Sankey, Oakport

£4.00 per wallet + 30 p p + p

(Also, beautiful handbags — appx 9"

ound with shoulder strap - £17.00 each)

HEADS YOU LOSE

In the fury of Royalists over England's republic, Oliver Cromwell's reputed head has been bandied about for centuries — his body was dug up after the Restoration and the head severed in a ritual execution (though some say the family tricked them and the ghouls got the wrong body). Some kinky monarchist parson is said to have the head to this day.

A similar sort of thing happened to the guerrilla leader Pancho Villa, whose reputation lived on even after his ambush in 1923 so much so that in 1926 reactionaries — not with the State aplomb of those of Charles II's day — broke into his grave and stole the head.

Now that time has sanctified all, his remains are being transferred (with those of four Presidents) to a monument to the Revolution of 1910 in Mexico City. His widow placed the urn inside the monument accompanied by President Echevarria who appealed for the return of the missing skull.

They wanted to transfer the body of Emiliano Zapata, the libertarian revolutionary, who was also ambushed by reactionaries, of equal fame to Villa but far surpassing him in moral stature. But his family objected to the transfer of his remains from his native Morales.

The "honour" which is in reality a desecration and a disgrace of being recognised by the State, against whose tyranny in whatever guise he battled so strongly, in order to give lustre to his enemies, has been spared Zapata thanks to the vigorous protests of his family.

ANARCHIST CAMPS

The libertarian "68 Club" of Manchester are organising a summer camp at Llangollen (North Wales) on the Bank Holiday weekend (August 27, 28, 29).

There will also be an International Anarchist summer camp in Belgium from July 15 to August 15. For more information contact: Eric Sobrie, Zonnestraat 3, 9792 Wortegem-Petegem, Belgium.

Next year it is hoped to organise a (package deal?) summer camp on the Costa Brava in Spain.

STOP PRESS:

Comrade Pedro Ignacio Perez Beotogui, better known to British comrades as "Wilson" who was arrested, tortured and imprisoned in Spain on charges of having been involved in the levitation of Carrero Blaco's car, has been flown out of Spain together with eight other ETA comrades to exile in Norway prior to the elections in Spain. Our warmest fraternal greetings go to Pedro and the other comrades and we hope it will not be too long before they can return to their homes.

*von Braun died in bed, 17/6/77.

Wishfull thinking sometimes comes true folks!!

Gleanings

I was shocked to hear from my old friend Paul Ostreicher, chairman of Amnesty International, that the Soviet authorities don't want to let him into Russia. Not so long ago Paul visited various German prisons and met Baader-Meinhof people and other activists doing long sentences. He came back to Britain and told the BBC "These people are very sick" — referring of course to their motivations for their political activities, not their alleged ill-treatment in the Federal Republic's excellent modern prisons. What Paul was saying here, of course, was that rather than being in prison the "sick" Germans should be receiving medical treatment. This, of course, is just what happens to those well meaning but misguided people in Russia who offer thoughtless provocations to the authorities; so it is hard to see why Paul should be refused admission when he is so clearly sympathetic to the point of view of a government which for once does seem to be doing something a bit enlightened.

* * * * *

More heartening is the news that our comrades of the "Solidarity" group are maintaining their excellent record as regards speaking out on the subject of political trials. On at least three occasions now they have, at the end of the proceedings, boldly questioned the validity, from a revolutionary point of view, of the politics of the accused and/or of the campaigns which sought their release: I am thinking of the respective trials of the Stoke Newington Eight, Angela Davis, and now the Murrays.

Of course, those who are always over eager to dash to the defence of life, while riding roughshod over the cause of Truth, will no doubt fling their usual hysterical accusations at these comrades who steadfastly have insisted on keeping their heads while all about them have been losing theirs; the accusers cannot be even dimly aware that such a stand requires perhaps more courage than facing the threatened wrath of the State. Those who insist that attacks on prisoners only increase their sufferings or the sufferings of those who follow them into the clutches of the State probably over-estimate the purely negative effect of imprisonment. After all, look at the magnificent body of prison writing that has accumulated over the years — an entity to which a group with the magnificent publishing record of "Solidarity" will need no introduction, I'm sure.

Man o' the Movement

MARCH FOR GEORGE INCE

Sunday, July 3. Assemble Tower Hill 2.00. for more information: Free George Ince Campaign, 40 Thornfield House, Rosefield Gardens. London E14

Huddersfield Raid: Ronan Bennet Released

On 11 May Special Branch officers arrested Iris Mills and Ronan Bennet at the old Black Flag address in Huddersfield on a warrant issued under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Iris was released following an intensive campaign on her behalf after seven days, but Ronan was served with an Exclusion Order and it was only due to prompt local and national solidarity that this order was revoked and Ronan released from custody. Iris takes up the story:

On Wednesday 11th May at 7 a.m. our house in Huddersfield was raided by Special Branch. They forced their way in without warrants and declared that we were being held under the "Prevention of Terrorism Act" and that the house would be searched for explosives, whereupon a fat brown dog dutifully sniffed at the skirting boards but found nothing!

We were taken to the local police station and there we had our photos taken as well as our fingerprints. At first Ronan refused to give his fingerprints but was told they would break his arm if necessary. Moreover, repeated requests to see a lawyer were refused.

From the start of the interrogation it was clear that we were being held because of our anarchist beliefs, and that Ronan was specially picked on because he was Irish. We were never accused of any "terrorist" acts either past/ present or future and there was never any suggestion of charges being made against us under the Act. We were continually asked about our political thoughts. Questions were also asked regarding various groups namely the S.L.A., I.W.W. and the A.W.A.

At times the questioning took on farcical aspects, for instance I was asked if I was an anarchist. Having answered 'yes' I was told 'so you're a self confessed anarchist!' Ronan was told that he was known to have mixed with bombers, robbers and others of ill-repute whilst in prison!

At first we were held for two days, we were questioned on the Wednesday but left completely alone on Thursday. Then on Friday we were told that because of our unco-operative behaviour we would be held for a further five days.

A friend of ours who called at the

house meanwhile, intending to stay for a few days, was also picked up and held for two days. He had phoned before coming and had been informed by someone (the police) who answered the phone that we were out but would be back later. However, his detention turned out to be a lucky break for us. After our friend was released on the Sunday he immediately contacted the N.C.C.L. who in turn contacted a well-known local solicitor, Mr. Barrington Black, who secured my release almost immediately.

Unfortunately Ronan was recommended for deportation back to Northern Ireland as he was Irish and had incurred the wrath of the 'chief' Special Branch Investigator, by refusing to answer questions and by refusing to be intimidated. It seems his 'crimes' amounted to being Irish, anarchist and rude to the police.

The only 'evidence' against us apparently was our literature, one questioner went on about the 'bloody anarchist/revolutionary books' in almost hysterical agitation. Also I discovered to my horror, when I got home that they had set up a shooting gallery in our attic and had so placed various items, such as an air-pistol, crossbow, old ex-army shoulder bags, a pack and pots and pans to suggest a para-military camp.

All this time (seven days) we were held in the cells at the local Huddersfield police station. We had no contact with the outside world or with each other (except for two brief meetings on the Wednesday and the following Tuesday). The food was appalling (inedible at times) and totally inadequate. We were kept in the cells without any exercise for twenty four hours a day and the lights were left on continuously day and night.

On Tuesday evening Ronan was moved

to Armley prison in Leeds. There he was held in solitary confinement, as a Category 'A' prisoner, which meant that he was locked up for twenty three (sometimes twenty four) hours each day. On the following Monday he was transferred to Brixton prison in London in order to meet a representative of the Home Office, to put his request for the Exclusion Order to be revoked. This representative was a Q.C., Mr. Ronald Waterhouse, who asked Ronan a series of questions. These questions differed little from those that Special Branch had already asked i.e. Ronan's background in Northern Ireland — he stated that he had been a supporter (though not a member) of the Official Sinn Fein and when in Long Kesh had supported the I.R.S.P. He was then asked questions about his and my present political views. These he refused to answer saying that this was not relevant to the 'Prevention of Terrorism Act' and on this point he was backed up by his lawyer, maintaining that people should not be punished for their ideas alone.

It seems on afterthought that I was only held to prevent news on Ronan's detention from being leaked, which also explains why our friend who came to visit was held. Because the questioning was surprisingly brief (about four hours at most for each of us) it also seems that they had made up their minds as to Ronan's deportation from the beginning.

On a more sinister aspect, one of the interrogators at Huddersfield police station, a Steve Thompson, denied that he was a policeman or a member of Special Branch. When asked if he was a member of some intelligence service he refused to answer.

The so-called 'temporary' Prevention of Terrorism Act is another 'lawful' infringement by the State on the liberties of its citizens. It is a means by which the police, for reasons which they don't have to specify, can pick up anyone at all and hold them incommunicado for at least seven days — longer if they wish. This was the most disturbing aspect of our case — that we were held for so long without any of our friends realising what had happened.

Its claim to 'prevent' terrorism is dubious to say the least, for instance it didn't prevent the Balcombe Street Siege. About 2,500 people have been picked up under the Act and of these only 11 have been found guilty of any offences. The most important point, from the police angle, is that it enables them to hold anyone and go through their personal effects and to build up a file of intelligence information nationwide.

Iris Mills.



Iris Mills and friend

COUNCILLISM—AGAIN!

The splinter groupuscles of the Council-Communist movement are engaged in a wild flurry of anti-syndicalist propaganda. These mostly student, professionals' and counter-culture groupings — ranging from left-Bolsheviks (International Communist Current) through Luxemburgists to Council-Anarchists — who have so long held the stage of ultra-left politics, are faced with the re-emergent spectre of Anarcho-Syndicalism. The reorganisation of the CNT in Spain, outflanking their positions, has thrown their ranks into a panic. In reaction a flood of articles recounting the various sins of syndicalism has hit the intellectual circuit. Much is but regurgitated bites from Malatesta or Arshinov's Platform — profound in themselves, for make no mistake about it the worker councilist movement wrote some glorious pages and will no doubt do so again, but nonetheless, in the mouths of these intellectuals, merely debased in the paraphrase — while some of the rest sinks to the level of gutter journalism, such as equating the syndicalism of the CNT and IWW with the AFL-CIO and TUC (truly a new low slander that Moscow would do well to emulate).

But most popular are the accounts of the various CNT sell-outs in the 1936-39 period: 'anarchist' cabinet ministers and the like. What is most intriguing about these is the format: an almost universal reprinting of obscure little pamphlets from the 30s. On reflection, not so strange, really. Almost all the councilist groups trace back their rather questionable lineage to one or another of a myriad of communist splinter groups in the 20s and 30s. Each of these groups had to sooner or later turn their mimeographed circulars to the burning issue of Spain. And our new-born councilists, who like to be taken for John the Baptist crying in the wilderness, seek a prophetic and almost Biblical fulfillment in linking themselves to these old denunciations. As if they were something unique under the sun.

Yet the question arises: why the hell read this obscure crap? Why not go to the source? Read the accounts from

within the syndicalist movement, which were debated by tens of thousands of workers. The left-wing of the CNT made no bones about their objections to the sell-outs by the self-appointed CNT bureaucrats. And they resisted in force: the May 1937 Uprising, the FAI gun-squads hitting back at the Stalinist secret police & military commissars, the subsequent guerrillas defying official policy etc. The AIT (International Workers Association), headquartered in France and to which the CNT affiliated, strongly denounced the entry of CNT 'ministers' into the Popular Front and even more strongly attacked the entry of the CNT worker militias into the Republican army. (see especially the articles by Pierre Besnard, General Secretary of the AIT/IWW. In *Le Combat Syndicaliste*, Paris). Also the articles "Counter-Revolution in Spain" by the old pre-WWI CGTer R. Louzon in the pages of *La Revolution Proletaire*, Paris. All of which was extensively re-printed in the IWW press and widely circulated in North America, along with on-the-spot accounts by Wobblies fighting in the ranks of the CNT International Durruti Shock Battalion (especially Canadian Wobs), French syndicalists battalions and those trapped in the International Brigades. (Remember that the IWW had reorganised in the early 30s, was 25,000 strong with control of the Cleveland metal shops, California vanadium mines, and also strong among port, maritime & lumber workers. The weekly *Industrial Worker* and *One Big Union Monthly* magazines were widely circulated).

However, like the rest of the syndicalist movement the IWW was too close to the action in Spain to take a Holier Than Thou attitude. Hundreds of Wobblies were fighting and dying there and so the open criticism remained public but was tempered by a strong commitment to the rank-and-file of the CNT and their social revolution in Spain.

For they were not Trotskyite intellectuals screaming for an arms embargo on Spain. The IWW knew where the guns were needed: *In the hands of the Syndicalist workers!* And that remains our position.

Meanwhile the latter-day councilists continue their canard. Some are so rotten that, in attempts to prove that all worker revolts are councilist in nature, they even fraudulently list syndicalist revolts, like Barcelona '37 and the Rand Revolt. South Africa, 1922, as councilist. And then there's the case of Murray Bookchin, a Young Communist in his Stalinist 30s youth who went anarchist, a factory worker who went garret-intellectual until the 60s catapulted his books into the campus circuit and an academic career. At an anarchist conference near Montreal in 1975 Bookchin denounced the IWW and CNT and the whole of syndicalism as "counter-revolutionary." The CNT was dead, never to rise again, the Spanish workers had sold out and had T.V. antennas on their barrio roofs, and the only hope for Spain lay in the young middle-class students. (See Bookchin's Introduction to Dolgoff's *Anarchist Collectives in Spain* for corroboration). But last year he surfaced at a Augustin Souchy pro-CNT speaking engagement in Boston, where he identified himself with the CNT and lapped up the shared glory. And now, catching wind from the reports of various IWW Defence Committee and anarchist comrades returned from visits to CNT and FAI locals in Spain, that there is a dispute in the CNT whether to emphasise the straight-syndicalist economic struggle or to highlight the anarchi revolt against the State structure, Bookchin weasels in, protraying it as a syndicalist versus anarchist split. He's been told straight-off: 1. the CNT is working class, 2. Anarcho-syndicalist, 3. this is a dispute between worker anarcho-syndicalists, with youths and old-timers on both sides of the argument. Do not misrepresent it in order to bolster your anti-syndicalist, pro-councilist diatribes.

Nonetheless, we can well expect Bookchin and the others to do so. Let us give them a warm welcome.

Gary Jewell
IWW Defense Local 2
Toronto.



SPOT-THE-SPOOK

Maigret? Sherlock Holmes? Popeye? Who is this mystery-man (left, centre) who frequents Kings Cross railway buffet (just a zoom-lenze away from the TIME OUT offices) and is pictured here amidst the crowd in Red Lion Square? A free copy of our ANARCHO QUIZ BOOK will go to the lucky reader who gives us the correct answer.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

AUSTRALIA:

Bill O'Meally — Victim of the State.

In 1952 Bill O'Meally, then aged 30, was sentenced to death for the murder of a policeman. He was convicted despite evidence that he could not have been responsible for the murder, evidence which was suppressed deliberately by the Australian police and the state prosecutor, Henry Winneke, now Governor of Victoria.

In an attempt to prejudice the jury against Bill O'Meally, a previous, unrelated, conviction for assaulting a police officer (in self-defence) was dragged out. The inevitable happened and Bill was found guilty. After the trial, while still under sentence of death, Bill made a fresh effort to clear his name, bringing up the evidence that had been suppressed during the trial. This suppression of evidence was 'investigated' by the very same members of the police force, including local homicide detective Trememon, who had been responsible for it in the first place!

Bill was saved from the gallows by a change in the state government, instead his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, with his papers being marked "without remission—never to be released". For 14 out of the past 25 years Bill has been confined in a 'Pentridge' cage: 4 paces long and less than 2 wide. It has a 4 metre-high wall around it, topped by wire mesh. No one could see in or out.

Since 1955 he has attempted to escape from prison on about 10 separate occasions, and after one escape attempt he was flogged so badly that it took him three months to recover. Several times he has been the victim of unofficial beatings.

During 1976 he was allowed out of prison for one day, to visit some members of his family, an event he wrote about for the Australian daily paper *The Age*.

Bill, however, is back in prison, and could well stay there, literally for the rest of his life unless something is done to secure his

release. Letters protesting about Bill's imprisonment can be sent to the Australian Prime Minister, Fraser, at The Lodge, Canberra, Australia.

Letters of solidarity can be sent to Bill at Castlemaine Jail, Castlemaine 3450, Victoria, Australia.

[source Haptoct Family International] BULGARIA — Repression continues.

Following the report of the "house" arrest being applied to anarchist militant Kristo Kolev which appeared in the last issue of *Black Flag*, we have just heard about the arrest of two more libertarians: Dimitar Nedoklanov, in Alfatar, and Georgui Bojilov, in the region of Sillistra.

The Bulgarian communists are attempting to completely destroy the Bulgarian anarchist movement — dozens of anarcho-communists and anarcho-syndicalists of the BACF and Bulgarian CNT are in prisons and forced labour camps.

Prisons and psychiatric hospitals in Bulgaria are run on lines similar to those in the USSR, and people can be imprisoned for up to 10 years without trial.

[source: *Industrial Defence Bulletin*, Toronto]

JAPAN

It is a long time since 1923. Far too long for anybody to worry about the atrocities by the Japanese State against the workers, and the anarchists in particular. Not too long, of course, for writers to remember that in two or three cases the anarchists hit back and singled out one or two particularly vicious oppressors. But that was "terrorism", and individual terrorism at that. The reason for it is glossed over.

After the Kanto earthquake the gendarmes were in full command of the country, and behaved as they liked, in particular against "enemies of the State". In the course of it, Osugi and his wife Noe Ito, together with their little nephew Solichi Tachibana (only six years old) were strangled by four gendarmes on 16 September, 1923.

An Army surgeon, Lieut. Tanaka, conducted a post-mortem examination and found that Osugi and Noe had "received a lot of violence as far as their ribs and tongue supported bones were broken" and that they were "subjected to outward suppression of their necks." They were then thrown down a well.

Lieut. Tanaka died in China during the war but, more than fifty years after the event, his wife has made his post mortem papers public. (They are published in the Japanese Anarchist Paper *Le Libertaire*, December '76). This has ended the fiction that they were "killed in the earthquake". It has cast a momentary shadow on "legalism". Had she made her exposure some years earlier she too would have disappeared.

Is it conceivable British workers would be interested in what happened a long time ago, in a far off country, to fellow humans with a way out ideology? They are not now, and they would not have been then. Had the story come out at the time and been published in the British press — a double unlikelihood — perhaps some patriotic Englishman would have told his wife hovering around the breakfast table with the coffee pot "that's the way to treat these anarchists...clever people these Japs"... and smiled with satisfaction at his own small son, destined eighteen years later to be a victim of the very same officer class who felt they were invincible against the world after defeating the enemy at home.

CANADA

The Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho Marxist) has pushed this Oreo Cookie Cream Pie into the face of Eldridge Cleaver because he is a turncoat fink and front man for what is alleged to be a CIA-fronted religious group.

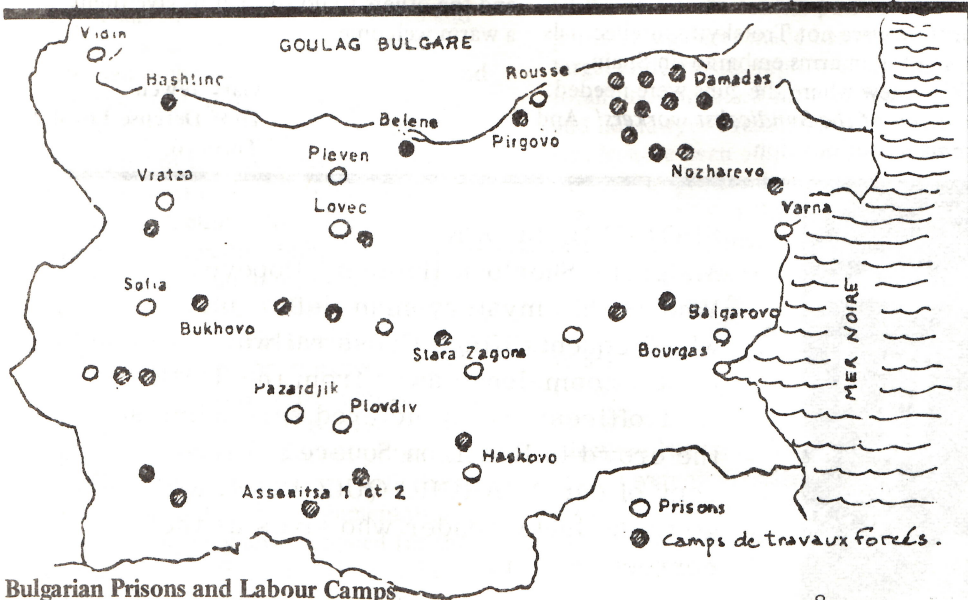
While most of Eldridge's onetime comrades in the Black Liberation Army have been murdered by the racist U.S. State or are currently rotting in prisons, he is free to travel with the likes of Waterbugger Charles Colson, shooting his mouth off for pay about the glories of American "democracy".

The "I Found It" campaign is endorsed by such people as William F. Buckley who has admitted CIA affiliations in the past. "I FOUND IT" has access to a multi-million dollar budget for its international campaign. (What sort of profit are they finding?)

We used an Oreo Cookie Cream Pie because Oreo Cookies are black on the outside and white on the inside, just like Eldridge Cleaver and his participation in the White Man's pseudo religious "I Found It" shell game. If Eldridge was able to find it, imagine who must have lost it.

So remember Eldridge, if you turn the other cheek — you're going to catch a pie that side too. Jesus isn't going to give us pie in the sky when we die, we're going to give Eldridge pie in the face now!

[Press release: Anarchist Party of Canada, Groucho Marxist]



Bulgarian Prisons and Labour Camps

U.S.A. — Know your enemy, no. 365, the terrorists....

The U.S. military is designing new and deadly uses for the laser beam. The air force has developed a laser device called the Eye Popper which is mounted in aeroplanes and aimed at the eyes of ground crews. The laser beam causes the human eyes to explode, causing instantaneous blindness.

[source: Yipster Times]

The Right to Self-defence.

Inez Garcia, a thirty two year old farmworker of Puerto Rican-Cuban descent, with one child, has been granted a re trial after serving 15 months in the California Institute for Women and has been released on bail. She had been charged with 2nd degree murder of her rapist.

On March 19, 1974, Inez was raped by Luis Castillo (17) with the assistance of his friend, Miguel Jimenez (21) who held her down (Jimenez weighs 300 lbs). Shortly after the rape the two men and a friend of theirs threatened to kill Inez if she didn't leave town, so she took her young son's .22 air rifle, walked into the street where she encountered Jimenez and Castillo. Jimenez threw a knife at Inez and she shot him. Castillo ran away. In all less than 15 minutes had elapsed since the rape.

Inez was arrested and charged with the first degree murder of Jimenez, the son of local land owners. During the trial, however, the Judge restricted the defence to such an extent that the appellate court insisted on a re trial. The re trial will cost between \$50 — \$70,000, but Inez needs moral as well as financial support:

Write to : Viva Inez, 2486 Grove Street, Berkeley, California 94704, USA.

[source: Second Wave]

FRANCE

More on the GARI Three:

Judge Pia, the examining magistrate in the case of the three remaining GARI prisoners in France (Michel Camilleri, Mario Ines Torres, Jean Marc Rouillon), died in March.

Our three comrades have been in prison since September/December 1974 without yet coming to trial. The Court State of Security held their dossier from 20 September 1974 until, on 12 March 1976, deciding it was not competent to handle the case and excusing themselves by saying that the GARI prisoners were attempting to use the court as a tribune. Eight days after this, Judge Pia once more took charge of the case. But according to French law the three prisoners should have been released as soon as the Court of State Security relinquished responsibility for them. Even *Le Monde* (30.3.77) has to ask "how, professionally, do they excuse keeping them inside during these eight days?"

So Pia took over the dossier and began once more from scratch. That was a year ago; now he has died, so now yet another judge must be given the case and go back

Buback Execution Document

(cont. from front page)

of the continuing struggle — for the revolutionary movement she personifies an ideological avant-garde, which Buback's false allegation of suicide shows; her death — used by the Federal legislature as propaganda, "the failed judgement" of armed politics — was intended to morally destroy the group, their struggles, and all trace of their activities.

The Federal attorney's strategy — whose office has carried out searches and proceedings against the RAF since 1971 — runs along the lines of the NATO Security Committee's policy on anti-subversion strategy, i.e. the incrimination of revolutionary resistance, which means tactical infiltrationary steps, the demoralisation and isolation of the guerrilla and the elimination of their leadership.

Within the framework of the BRS's imperialist counter-strategy against the guerrilla, Justice is an instrument of war — in the persecution of the illegally active guerrilla, and in the annihilation of the prisoners-of-war.

Buback — whom Schmidt has called "a vigorous fighter" for the State — has the same understanding of war as we do and continues: "I have survived the war. This is a war with other expedients."

What revolutionary war is — and this is something that Buback will not touch — is the continuation, the solidarity, the love, which guerrilla activity is.

We will prevent the murder of our fighters in West German prisons, because the Federal attorney has no way out (since the prisoners will not cease to struggle), other than liquidating them.

We will prevent the Federal attorneyship and the state police organisation

France cont.

to the beginning of the investigations. At the present pace of French justice this means that our comrades must wait another three years behind prison bars before they are put on trial, i.e. an effective jail sentence of 6 years without being tried or sentenced! Nothing has been proved against them, and with the French police and judiciary taking three years of investigations to produce no evidence at all it is obvious that, if and when the trial begins, nothing will be.

The French State is holding Camilleri, Torres and Rouillon as political hostages. It knows that any trial would result in their release, so such a trial is postponed indefinitely. We call upon all our readers to send letters of protest to the French Government and their local diplomatic representatives calling for their immediate release.

STOP PRESS: All three comrades have now been released on bail.

from revenging themselves on the imprisoned fighters for the activities of the guerrilla outside.

We will prevent the Federal attorneyship from making use of the fourth collective prison hunger-strike with the minimum of human rights, in order to murder Andreas (Baader), Gudrun (Ensslin) and Jan (Raspe), such as the psychological war-directive since Ulrike's death has openly propagated.

The armed resistance and the anti-imperialist front is organising in Western Europe.

The war in the cities leads in the international struggle for freedom.

**Ulrike Meinhof Commando
Red Army Fraction.**

**SWEDISH COLLABORATION WITH
WEST GERMAN AUTHORITIES.**

More than thirty people were arrested in Stockholm, Sweden, at the beginning of April in connection with what the Swedish authorities claimed to be a plot to kidnap Anna Greta Leijon, a former Swedish Foreign Minister. Leijon was responsible for the deportation of members of the "Holger Meins Commando" including Siegfried Hausner — who died of his wounds as a result of being moved — in 1975 after the attack on the West German Embassy in Stockholm.

Amongst those arrested were three Latin American refugees, including Armando Carrillo, a Mexican urban guerrilla freed from a 40 year jail sentence in Mexico who arrived in Sweden in December 1975, a 23 year old Englishman working for the Swedish Refugee Council (similar to Amnesty International), and two West Germans, Norbert Kroechner (26) and Manfred Adomeit, both of whom are alleged to belong to the 2nd June Movement.

Police in Stockholm say they found 30 forged passports; a police uniform; a terrorist "library"; telephone monitoring equipment, and 15½lbs of dynamite together with fuses in an apartment rented by Kroechner. Both Kroechner and Adomeit have since been deported to West Germany where, on April 5, Federal Prosecutor Siegfried Buback announced they would be tried on charges of belonging to "a criminal organisation" — far more serious than any charges they could have faced in Sweden.

The Mexican, Carrillo, about whom scare stories had been spread by the Swedish police after his arrival in the country. Although he was allowed to enter Sweden after being held for a month he was never granted political asylum and has now been deported with his Chilean wife.

Buback, who had given a press conference after the arrests (2/4/77) and talked about "...a small but determined gang of terrorists" cont. on page 13.

CASTRO: El Caudillo of the Caribbean

The bloody dictatorship of Fidel Castro and his clique, whatever the mask it may wear or the objectives it may claim to have, IS THE REAL COUNTERREVOLUTION.
—Argentine Libertarian Federation, July 1961.

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE, Black Rose Books, Montreal, 1976, £4.00.

THE PEOPLE ARE EATING BETTER, have free health care, subsidised or free housing, mass transit fares are only token—claims like these unite the apologists of state capitalist tyranny from China westwards to Russia, ports in between, then southward to Cuba. Written with well fed righteous indignation, these decent “liberal” people breath condescension to all that question the lack of freedom in the so called Communist States — “Freedom is a bourgeois luxury!” they sneer, echoing Lenin, wallowing in their calorie counted guilt complexes. Then they go on to tell us about the increase in the tons of pig iron produced or sugar cane cut under the ever glorious current Five Year Plan, blithely ignoring the prison camps, the repression of all civil rights (in the name of the Revolution!), revelling in the mindless uniformity of appearance, ideas and mass demonstrations. They like to tell us that the uniformity is proof of the on-going democratic impulses of the Revolution, rather than the force-fed results of Statist repression...

Of course, these are the very same people that raise their dainty hands in horror at fixed union elections, pornography statutes and the displacement of left wing mini-parties from election ballots. Filled with guilt about having three square meals a day they cast their sneering pearls before us swine, in the self-fulfilling prophetic hope that we will continue to be the same boors we always have been. You know the type: they get a free trip behind the iron/bamboo/sugar cane curtain and tell us of the wonders of the regimented life in the workers’ fatherlands. “Free” for them; the regimented working stiff foots the bill without being asked, courtesy of “his” State.

Serve the People! (who are, after all, too dumb to serve themselves); Cheap Bus Fares on the road to Socialism, don’t need a car, cause the trains now run on time, thanks to the Wisdom of the Selfless Conductor; the only songs to be sung are *lider*.

Fidel Castro as a variation of the “traditional” Latin American *lider maximo*, a *caudillo* sprinkled with Stalinist rhetoric — this is one of the most interesting aspects in Sam Dolgoff’s latest book, **The Cuban Revolution: A Critical Perspective**. Dolgoff gives example after example of Latin American dictators — all of whom were looked down upon by our

fine feathered fellow travellers — who ensured their mass support through the implementation of social reform policies. The only difference between them and Castro is in the rhetoric department. The traditional *caudillo* was propped up by Yankee Imperialism; Fidel, by the Soviets.

Going back to the 1924 Ibanez dictatorship in Chile, we see that social welfare policies were pursued; the *junta* that grabbed power in Peru in 1968 instituted social reforms as well (and he quotes Castro as saying that the Peruvian agrarian reform was much more “radical” than what was done in Cuba after the Revolution).

The best example of a right wing *caudillo* following social welfare policies — is that of Juan Peron in Argentina. Although the original basis of Peron’s power was the military, his real base of support lay in his own (and Evita’s) popularity with the *descamisados* — the “shirtless ones.” That and control of the labour movement.

In this regard, Dolgoff documents the actual links between Peron and Castro — the latter’s proclamation of days of mourning on the occasion of Peron’s death; that Super-Revolutionary Che Guevara was in informal contact with leading Peronists. The idea of Castro as *caudillo* is more than just a matter of interpretation; it was an affinity recognised by Castro himself.

Castro’s accession to power, too, is not so far from the palace coup tradition as we have been led to believe. There is no doubt that his 26 July Movement fought hard and bravely against Batista — but the 26th July Movement was not the only anti-Batista force operating in Cuba — there were groups all over the country, all of whom wore down the Batista regime to the point of collapse — groups both in the country and the city (the role of urban anti-Batista forces has been consistently downplayed — they did not support Castro). Among the many fascinating documents included in this book (many for the first time in English) is a series of articles (“Revolution and Counter-Revolution”) written by the veteran Cuban anarchist, Abelardo Iglesias. One of those articles, “History of a Fraud: the ‘March on Havana,’” describes exactly how Castro came to actual power. We can do no better than quote Iglesias:

The romantic aura surrounding Castro’s legendary exploits must be dispelled. The myth of his alleged “March on Havana” captured the imagination of his deluded sympathisers, must once and for all be debunked. We who lived in Cuba, who witnessed, and to a certain extent participated in the events, have too much respect for the truth to remain silent in the face of such serious misconceptions.

The facts...are the following: Weeks before Batista fled Cuba, when the rebel forces advanced in Las Villas Province without meeting serious resistance from government troops, Fidel Castro, almost immobilised in Oriente province, contacted Colonel Rizo Rubido, military commander of the fortress at Santiago de Cuba, and began negotiations with this officer of the Batista army for the surrender of the city, the capital of Oriente Province... With the help of a Catholic priest...Fidel Castro and General Cantillo reached full agreement and General Cantillo surrendered Santiago de Cuba and the whole province...to Castro. These events were related by Castro himself on television and reported in 1959 in the magazine “Bohemia”, which reproduced actual photographs of the notes exchanged between Fidel Castro and General Cantillo.

Fulgencio Batista then summoned General Cantillo to Havana and told him of his decision to abdicate and appoint him (General Cantillo) as Commander in Chief of the army to maintain order and return the country to normalcy. General Cantillo accepted Batista’s offer and immediately contacted Fidel Castro, informing him that he was ready to not only surrender Oriente Province, but the whole country. A few hours later, Batista...left Havana for Santo-Domingo... This happened at dawn, January 1st, 1959.

With the flight of Batista, all the armed forces surrendered without firing a single shot. General Cantillo transferred command of his army to Colonel Ramon Barquin who had just been released, after being sentenced to imprisonment for conspiring against the Batista government.

Upon assuming command...Colonel Barquin told Fidel Castro that the army and he personally was at his disposal and under his orders and that he (Barquin) would remain only as long as Castro wants me to or until he was replaced.

Fidel Castro immediately ordered his rebel troops to occupy all installations, barracks and fortresses. In line with these orders, Camillo Cienfuegos with a force of only 300 men, occupied Camp Military City after 12,000 Batista troops, including aviation, artillery and tank units, surrendered without firing a shot.. (Dolgoff, p. 91f.)

Power, then, was HANDED to Castro.

Castro — in common with traditional Latin American *caudillos* — has made great strides in the area of social welfare policies — this cannot be denied. And through the Communist Party, he controls the labour movement. The biggest deviation of Castro from

the traditional *caudillo* pattern is in his relations with the Communists. The traditional *lideres maximos* took power claiming that their coups were the country's only alternative to communism; and repression of communists followed. But this does not take into account the history of the Cuban Communist Party (CPC) — a history of collaboration with brutal right-wing dictators. Founded by 10 people in 1925 during the Machado dictatorship, the CPC (then known as the PSP — People's Socialist Party) began its career of treachery to the working class as Machado's regime collapsed. It was during the reign of Machado that the Cuban Anarcho-Syndicalist movement was dealt near death blows — it took Fidel to finish them off. In August 1933 a general strike started the downfall of Machado — spearheaded by the Anarcho-Syndicalist-influenced trolley workers union and the Communist-controlled bus workers union. In a desperate last-minute attempt to preserve power, Machado negotiated with the Communists — if they would call off the general strike, he would recognise the Party and place its bureaucrats at the head of some of the labour unions. This agreement was made between the regime and the Central Committee of the Communist-controlled CNOC (National Confederation of Cuban Workers). The rest of the story is told in the "Manifesto to the Cuban Workers and People in General" written by the Federation of Anarchist Groups:

The communists made frantic appeals to the workers to go back to work because the employers granted their demands. But the workers (including even the Havana bus and transportation union, controlled by the communists) refused. They decided to obey only their own conscience and to continue resistance until the Machado regime is overthrown or forced to flee.

Machado and his communist allies retaliated. No labour union was allowed to meet. The Havana Federation of Labour (FOH, founded by the anarcho-syndicalists), to which the largest number of non-political labour unions were affiliated, could not meet because it did not have a signed authorisation from the government. Only the communists, thanks to their betrayal, were allowed to meet. Armed with revolvers while all others were forbidden to hold or carry arms and constitutional rights were suspended, the communists held meetings, rode in automobiles burning gasoline supplied by the army because the filling stations were closed by the strike . . .

. . . in conclusion we want the workers and the people of Cuba to know that the rent for the offices of the communist party labour front the CNOC is paid by the Machado regime, that the furniture was forcibly taken away from the Havana Federation of Labour offices with the permission and active help of Machado's Secretary of War . . .

(Dolgoft, p. 48f)

To gain a power foothold, the Communists were ready to betray the popular rising. Twenty-one days after Machado fell, the Batista dictatorship began. Under Batista, only one "union" — "Labour Front" is the better word — was recognised: the CTC (Cuban Confederation of Labour). In 1940, the PSP, then led by Francisco Calderio (alias Blas Roca) agreed to and did support Batista's candidates in the elections. The pay-off — and I am not using the word sarcastically — was to turn over the leadership and control of the State-sanctioned CTC to the Communists. Installed by the gangster regime as its head was the Communist Lazaro Pena. And as if that act of betrayal were not enough, Communists were given positions in the presidential cabinet — partners in crime! Sam Dolgoft notes:

. . . In exchange for these favours the communists guaranteed Batista labour peace. In line with the Communist Party's "Popular Front against Fascism" policy, the alliance of the Communist Party with the Batista was officially consummated when the Party joined the . . . government. The Communist Party leaders Carlos Rafael Rodriguez and Juan Marinello (who now hold high posts in the Castro government) became Ministers Without Portfolio in Batista's Cabinet. To illustrate the intimate connections between the communists and Batista, we quote from a letter of Batista to Blas Roca, Secretary of the Communist Party:

June 13, 1944

Dear Blas,

With respect to your letter which our mutual friend, Dr. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez Minister Without Portfolio, passed to me, I am happy to again express my firm unshakeable confidence in the loyal cooperation the People's Socialist Party . . . its leaders and members have given and continue to give myself and my government . . . Believe me, as always,

Your very affectionate and cordial friend,

Fulgencio Batista.

(Dolgoft, p.53).

The Communists collaborated with Batista in writing Cuba's 1940 Constitution — a "democratic" constitution that coexisted with Batista's dictatorship in the same way that Stalin's "democratic" constitution coexisted with Stalinism. Blas Roca wrote:

Together, Batista and ourselves, with the energetic mobilisation of the popular masses, achieved the convocation of the free and sovereign Constituent Assembly, the normalisation of the University, the amnesty for political prisoners; measures that created a climate of guarantees and liberty in the country, that brought the legalisation of activity, together with our Party, to all parties and revolutionary sectors, thus initiating the process of normal and peaceful development of all civic activities.

Thanks to our collaboration with President Batista, we can affirm today

without arrogance that the people of Cuba have the magnificent Constitution of 1940.¹

Batista lost to Grau Martin in the early 40s. In 1947, Grau turned against the Communists; a drive to purge communists from the CTC was instituted. But the communists were not just mere victims of government-organised red-baiting; a reflection of their loss in popularity was shown in their dismal performance in national elections. When Batista regained power in 1952, the Party zigged and zagged — at the same time! — a difficult feat, even for those most adroit of zig-zaggers. Officially, the Party opposed Batista — at the same time leading Communists served in the government.²

When Fidel Castro entered the stage with his ill-fated attack on the Moncada Barracks in 1953, his act was roundly condemned by the Communists:

We repudiate the putschist methods, peculiar to bourgeois political factions, of the action . . . which was an adventurist attempt to take both military headquarters. The heroism displayed by the participants . . . is false and sterile, as it is guided by mistaken bourgeois conceptions. But even more we repudiate the repression dictated by the government . . .

The entire country knows who organised, inspired and directed the action . . . and knows that the Communists had nothing to do with it. The line of the PSP and the mass movement has been to combat the Batista tyranny and to unmask the putschists and adventurist activities of the bourgeois opposition as being against the interests of the people . . .³

It was not until after Batista's generals handed power to Castro that the Communists started to openly support Castro — an extremely embarrassing position for a "revolutionary" collaborator with a right-wing dictator. It was the influence of Soviet bloc aid and Fidel Castro's opportunism that led to the Castro-Communist fusion — prior to that time, he had talked in terms of "neither capitalism nor communism." On Dec. 2, 1961, Castro delivered his famous "I am a Marxist-Leninist and will remain one until the last days of my life" speech. Zeitlin and Scheer, in their *Cuba: Tragedy In Our Hemisphere*, maintain that he never made the statement.⁴ Whether he made the statement or not, I don't know; that he did is supported by what Herbert Mathews wrote about conversations in Cuba after the speech:

. . . On my next trip to Cuba I complained to him and everybody I met, not that the embrace of Marxism-Leninism was now open, but that his . . . speech was so badly constructed and confusing that his enemies could pick sentences out of it . . . to give the impression that Fidel was confessing he had been a Communist since his college days. He agreed with me that, of course, he had not meant to imply this . . . My Cuban friends commiserated with me over the way Fidel had made his startling announcement, but the damage was minor and it could

not be undone.⁵

In the final analysis, of course, whether he made that particular statement is of little importance: there can be no doubt today that he aligns himself wholly with the Communists — not to mention that he is the First Secretary of the CPC's Central Committee ...

Let us return to the theme of Communist betrayal of the working class and collaboration with dictatorship. The CPC control of the CTC (Castro, incidentally, turned leadership of the CTC over to one who had had experience under Batista: the Communist Lazaro Pena) is similar to the activities of Portuguese Communists — setting up one state-sanctioned union under Communist control. In Spain, there are tendencies within the same direction: witness the Communist participation in the closest thing Spain had to a state-sanctioned "union" — the so-called "Workers' Commissions." And the recent announcements by Santiago Carillo that the Communists are willing to recognise the monarchy! Franco's boy Juan Carlos embracing the old Stalinist hack — or rather vice versa. Memories of Unlce Joe and Adolf! Communist betrayal is nothing new (only a *caudillo* welcoming it is) — remember the KPD collaboration with the Nazis? May 1974 — a million railroad workers in India go on strike — the Communist Party of India (CPI) opposing it. More than 60,000 workers were imprisoned. When Indira Ghandi declared her State of Emergency in June 1975, only two political parties supported her: the Congress Party (her own) and — you guessed it — the CPI.

Let us return to our professional "liberal" apologists who see free medical care, free/subsidised housing, cheap bus fares and free education (but not education to think, to develop, to create, to be free; education to do what the State requires) as the be-all and end-all of social existence. The Cuban economy (as with the other so-called "communist" states) is in reality State Capitalism: wage slavery, managerial hierarchy, extraction of profits from the workers' labour power, leaders and led, masters and slaves, "alienated" labour. As in the other so-called Communist countries, workers' self-management of the means of production does not exist; everything in the hands of the State, for the State, by the

State. How does it pay the State to provide so many "free" services? Since the communists have destroyed every attempt by the people to develop social institutions, practices, etc., under their own control and at their own initiative, it cannot be that the State is simply being solicitous of its subejcts' (victims') well-being. Then why? One, it goes towards assuring popular support for the regime; Two by providing all of these "free" services, wage costs are cut — hence more profit — to be ploughed back in the economy, to be used for the financing of coercion, and enable the Party leaders to live in the style to which they have become accustomed. "Free" social services as a factor in reducing production costs (wages) was analysed particularly well in a document written in 1964 by the two Polish Communist dissidents — who both received jail terms for their efforts: "An Open Letter to the Party" by Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski. In regard to free medical care, they noted:

The workers receive medical care free and can buy medicines at a discount, but these are necessary in order to preserve his labour power; they are the ingredients of his subsistence minimum. If free medical care were abolished and rents increased, the workers' wages would have to be raised in proportion to the increase in his necessary expenses. These non-returnable benefits and services are a necessary part of the workers' subsistence minimum, a wage supplement as necessary to the workers as the wages themselves, and therefore a constituent of production costs.⁶

Healthier wage slaves make for healthier production norms; in a developing economy such as Cuba's, the need for more educated wage-slaves is necessary — hence the educational reforms. Social reform policies — no matter how beneficial and/or well-meaning — are not signs of Revolution. They can be and have been granted just as easily under reactionaries — witness Bismarck's social security programmes. They serve to increase profits, insure mass support, and thus perpetuate the system (whatever that system may be). In other words — give it to them, before they start taking it themselves.

Theoretically, the end-product of Castroism-Communism is supposed to be

the New Socialist Man — people motivated by higher ethical/moral imperatives. The social welfare reforms are supposed to be supplying the pre-conditions for true freedom. Freedom, however, cannot be given: **It must be taken.** Dolgoff notes:

But all attempts to institute socialism by decree, as Bakunin foresaw over a century ago, leads inevitably to the enslavement of the people by the authoritarian State. They (sic) attempt to build communism failed because the "new socialist man" can be formed only within the context of a new and free society, based not upon compulsion, but upon voluntary cooperation. The attempt failed because it was not implemented by thorough going libertarian changes in the authoritarian structure of Cuban society. Communisation and forming the "new socialist man" actually camouflaged the militarisation of Cuba ...

(Dolgoff p.154)

Authoritarian means result in Authoritarian ends: and the "new socialist man" has become the voluntary slave. That "thorough going libertarian changes" were not implemented was not due to lack of trying, as this book demonstrates. The Cuban Anarcho-Syndicalists fought the good fight. They tried to show and tried to implement these changes. The answer by the Moulders of New Socialist Man was — Repression. The results we see today: the Cuban economy in a shambles, life and labour militarised, children militarised.

This book must be read. I have only touched upon one small aspect of the book — there is so much more. It represents the first full-length, comprehensive view of the Cuban Revolution from a revolutionary perspective. It is an important book.

Shelby Shapiro.

Footnotes:

1. Maurice Zeitlin & Robert Scheer, *Cuba: Tragedy in our Hemisphere* (NY: Grove Press, Inc. 1963), p.114.
2. Ibid., 115ff.
3. Ibid., 117f.
4. Ibid., 217f.
5. Herbert L. Mathews, *A World in Revolution* (NY: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1971), p. 319f.
6. Jacek Kuron & Karol Modzelewski, *An Open Letter To The Party* (London: International Socialism, n.d.), p.13.





alleged to have shot Buback) did they run away from armed police without taking the guns with them. As it is, the weapons held in evidence against them were used to wound THEM! Sonnenberg may well die as a result of his wounds and Becker sits wounded in a prison cell: both shot down, unarmed, by the defenders of law and order. Who's conspiracy?

RED ARMY FRACTION TRIAL

On 28th April, after a trial lasting two years, the three remaining RAF defendants — Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan Carl Raspe — were all sentenced to life imprisonment.

During the trial their defence was harassed and impeded; conversations between the lawyers and their clients were bugged, some lawyers did not plead while others were appointed for them. The accused were prevented from attending most of the trial and prevented from expressing their political motivations.

In protest against this state of affairs the RAF and other political prisoners in jails throughout West Germany started a hunger strike on 30 March. On 30 April Gudrun Ensslin made the following statement:

"In the past few days all efforts at breaking the strike of more than 100 prisoners by force feeding failed. After the prison doctors and anaesthetists had refused to forcibly administer psychic drugs and narcotics, the director of Stammheim prison communicated to us '... binding declarations of the Justice Minister...' saying that '... in consideration of advice from medical experts, a re-grouping of political prisoners at Stammheim and in other Land (regional states) of the Federal republic and enlarging of the places of detention will be effected immediately.' This decision came as a result of a Federal cabinet meeting. This is why, the principal demands of the strikers having been met, they decided to end the strike."

In a long letter to Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and the Federal government, released on the eve of the hunger strike, the prisoners attempt to explain the context of the trial within the wider framework of a combined US-West European counter-insurgency strategy. Their letter consists of a list of demands which set forth in detail the lengths the West German state has been prepared to go in order to "contain" and "neutralise" anti-capitalist opposition. Summarised, the points are in three main categories. First, the strategy and aims of the US and Federal German governments together with the EEC in planning policy against anti-capitalist political movements: the prisoners say that discussions resulting in policy commitments on counter-insurgency made by the Federal government involving US diplomats and politicians, senior staff of the US Army,

who can strike at any time..." was sharply reminded of his words five days later when a motorbike drew up alongside his limousine as it waited at traffic lights in Karlsruhe and the passenger drew out a submachine gun and opened fire killing Buback, his driver and wounded the bodyguard. Responsibility for Buback's execution was later claimed by the "Ulrike Meinhof Commando" in a telephone call to the DPA news agency in Bonn (see document on front page).

Buback, who issued the 354 page document of charges against Baader, Ensslin, Meins, and Meinhof when the trial opened in 1975, is the second "Baader-Meinhof" judge to die. The West German Supreme Court President, Guenther von Drenckmann, was shot dead on 10 November 1974 by 2nd June Movement in retaliation for the murder of Holger Meins (killed by prison doctors after ending a hunger strike).

The following day, 8 April, the West German police announced that they wanted to question Gunter Sonnenberg, Christian Klar and Knut Volkerts in connection with Buback's death. These three were first named as being wanted by the police last year after the arrest of Siegfried Haag, a former defence lawyer for Baader.

On 3 May Sonnenberg was spotted with a girl in a cafe in the German/Swiss frontier town of Singen by an old lady who informed the local police. Two policemen approached the couple demanding to see their identity papers. They were told they were in the couple's car and were led outside by the police. The West German authorities claim that at this point Sonnenberg then produced a sub-machine gun from his rucksack and shot the policemen, hitting one in the chest and the other in the arm. Sonnenberg and the girl then flagged down a passing car and drove off in the direction of Stuttgart. With three police cars in pursuit they took a wrong turning and drove down a dead-end street. Realising their mistake Sonnenberg and the girl abandoned the car and tried to run off through a nearby park. Police opened fire with machine-guns and revolvers — which they later claimed they found in Sonnenberg's

car! — critically wounding Sonnenberg in the head and wounding his companion in the leg. The girl has since been identified as Vera Becker.

Sonnenberg was taken to hospital and Becker to the maximum security prison at Stammheim near Stuttgart. She had been jailed in 1972 for involvement in the bombing of a British boat club in West Berlin (claimed by the RAF) and was one of five people released in exchange for kidnapped CDU politician Peter Lorenz in 1975 who were flown to South Yemen. Gunter Sonnenberg (22) is said by West German police to be their "number one fugitive" on their "most wanted" list. He had previously been arrested for demonstrating against prison conditions in a courtroom.



Gunter Sonnenberg, above, and Verena Becker.



There is only the word of the police to say that the submachine gun (said by ballistics experts to be the weapon used to execute Buback), pistols, revolvers, and forged identity papers "found" in the rucksacks of Sonnenberg and Becker were in the couple's possession. Why, if they had shot two policemen (and are

the general secretariat of NATO Action Committee, the secret service of the Federal Republic, the Council of Ministers of the EEC and conferences of Ministers of the Interior of the EEC resulted in the declaration of the long-term aim of "immunising" (Brandt) society against anti-capitalist movements and permanently institutionalising opposition to US foreign policy in Western Europe. The short-term object was the neutralisation of those radical groups that had, since the banning of legal opposition to the Vietnam war, taken up arms (viz. the RAF).

Secondly, the vigorous implementation of this policy by the Federal government. Counter-insurgency units of the US Army operate in West Germany, personnel from the Federal republic's police and army were trained in these methods of operation at the US Army's Special Warfare School in Florida and, in conjunction with this, techniques of psychological warfare involving sophisticated manipulation of the mass media and release of information that was false were employed.

Much of the evidence of this is contained in the third part of the letter that deals with the RAF trial. Here are some examples from the West German press of false information about the RAF which was designed to alienate their sympathisers and terrify the public. The reports said . . . in June 1972 that the RAF was to explode three bombs in Stuttgart . . . in the summer of 1974 that they would carry out a rocket attack on the packed World Cup stadium . . . that they would poison the water supply of a large town . . . in the summer of 1975 that they had stolen some poison gas and planned to use it . . . in April 1975 that Holgar Meins himself would blow up the West German embassy in Stockholm . . . in March 1977 that they would attack a children's playground and take children as hostages . . . and continually from 1972 until now that there were "tensions" in the group.

There are more examples from the press in the letter together with quotations from prominent German politicians suggesting various tactics and objectives concerning the "terrorists." The well orchestrated press campaign and the statement of the politicians were all in line with the directives established in the report of the ISC (May 1975) for NATO countries for "desolidarising, isolating and eliminating" illegal groups. The State prosecutor Buback had said, "journalists should limit themselves to being intermediaries between the judiciary and the police and the public." (6/5/75).

Thirdly, the prisoners explain these actions and policies in the context of their 23 month trial. This involved the judiciary acting as an adjunct of the state both in actively co-operating with the state prosecutor, and in the implementation of special emergency laws designed for the safe conduct of the trial. The number of lawyers for the defence was limited to

three, collective defence was forbidden and defence lawyers Croissant, Groenwold and Stroebele was excluded by the state prosecutor under the emergency laws no. 138 and 146 " . . . as the result of tactical considerations" (Buback).

In addition to this the defence was made more difficult by the appointing of lawyers chosen by the state, the bugging of conversations between lawyers and their clients and the bugging of homes, offices and telephones of the former. As a result of information gathered in this way, witnesses were pressured, defence witnesses kept out of the trial and friends and employees of the lawyers were approached by the Federal security services who wanted them to act as spies. Furthermore, lawyers Croissant and Stroebele were arrested with the conscious aim of preventing a series of international press conferences that they had organised to inform public opinion of the responsibility of the trials in the Federal republic for the deaths of Holgar Meins and Siegfried Hausner. These tactics and policies were co-ordinated by the state prosecutor's office, and aided and informed by regular monthly meetings with the heads of three separate Federal security organisations.

In order to get them to change their testimonies the prisoners were subjected to psychological torture and techniques designed to lower their morale. They were isolated, subjected to sensory deprivation and, during the hunger strike, told that the others had given up. Ulrike Meinhof was singled out for eight months solitary confinement in a totally white, noiseless cell under the constant surveillance of the prison authorities and of specially allocated experts who devised the regime that all the prisoners were to be subjected to. These were conceived and carried out as scientific research and the results were communicated to the Special Research section 14 of Hamburg-Eppendorf University. The isolation first of Ulrike and then of Gudrun Ensslin and Ulrike together in the special cells was also part of a research project devised by academics from the Hamburg University Clinic. Ulrike Meinhof's central position as a political organiser made her an obvious target and, the attempt to break her spirit totally having failed through her own and her lawyer's resistance, brain surgery was to have been employed. As it was, she died in prison. In order to prevent the publication of these facts emergency law no. 231 was invoked, under which the trial could be conducted in the absence of the defendants.

The letter calls on Schmidt's government to acknowledge the truth of these allegations (of which we print only a section) and to recognise that the deaths of Ulrike Meinhof, Siegfried Hausner, Holgar Meins and Ulrich Wessel were the results of these policies, formulated and endorsed in the highest spheres of government. The letter concludes: "The measures taken by the government against the groups constitute tactics in a

covert war which runs counter to the rights of man, tactics which it is legitimate to resist, since they contravene the constitution."

— Peoples' News Service —
London.

ULRIKE

With expertise
they tried their best
That you, Ulrike
would come to your death

You were, Ulrike,
an honest rebel.
And so one morning
lined up in your cell
they slipped you a noose
their only hope
thus finally their hangman
performed his task

Nothing to say
but a lot to be done
we will avenge our dead,
you too, Ulrike, you too.

(Based on a poem by Erich Muehsam
and dedicated to comrade Ulrike Meinhof
murdered at Stuttgart-Stammheim 1)

PETER-PAUL ZAHL

32 prisoners in the JVA at Werl planned to hold a hunger strike starting on May 1st, in an attempt to force the closure of the psychiatric unit (dept. B.1.) there. Among those involved was Peter-Paul Zahl.

On April 29th, two days before the planned hunger strike Peter-Paul Zahl and two other prisoners were moved to the remand prison at Bochum. There was no opportunity to contact lawyers, relatives or friends, and all papers, books and writing materials belonging to the prisoners were confiscated.

One of the prisoners involved was Manfred Becker, but the name of the third prisoner is not yet known.

P.P. Zahl's new address is:—
Peter-Paul Zahl, JVA, Krummede 3,
463 Bochum, W. Germany.

GRASHOF, GRUNDMANN, JUENSCHKE— TRIAL VERDICTS

The trial of Manfred Grashof, Klaus Juenschke, and Wolfgang Grundmann which has dragged on for 21 months (the longest trial in West Germany except the recent RAF "hardcore" process, which lasted two years) came to an end on 2/6/77. Grashof and Juenschke each received life sentences after being found guilty of robbing a bank in Kaiserlautern in 1971 in which a policeman was killed, and membership of a criminal organisation. Grashof was also found guilty of killing a policeman shortly before his arrest in 1972. Wolfgang Grundmann was sentenced to 4 years for belonging to a criminal organisation and illegally possessing weapons. All three comrades boycotted the trial and were not in court to hear the verdicts.

CNT: Problems and Hopes

An interview with Luis Andres Edo and Luis Burro Molina, Barcelona, 10 January 1977.

Q: What is the situation in Barcelona at the moment?

Edo: First of all it must be said that at the moment all the organic levels in the CNT have only a formal existence: the National Committee is not functioning, the regional committees are not functioning, the local federations are not functioning, even the unions are not functioning. If this is the case at all levels, in all regions, in all provinces, it is not a problem of individuals nor of organisational form, but a problem of a phenomenon. Each organic figure, from the delegate in the assembly right up to the National Committee, does everything possible, but we are unable to overcome this phenomenon. It will not be resolved through assemblies and plenums, although these are necessary, but through a process of actuation a process which is beginning to develop at the moment. The regional plenum of Catalonia took place in this context. In fact it can be considered the only plenum to have been held in Spain as the others were plenums in name only. Another factor is that the political situation is undergoing a rapid process of "democratisation", an unstoppable process which nobody is in a position to affect one way or the other.

The problems and difficulties facing the CNT at the moment are very similar in many aspects to those facing all parties and organisations in this phase. The Catalan regional plenum, which took place only after weekly meetings of about 250 delegates over a period of two and a half months, was a very important event because from it emerged, in very clear terms, the willingness of the militants, for the most part young people, to fight any attempt at manipulation of their desire to manage their own struggles. The government thinks that it will once again be able to manipulate the CNT but this plenum has shattered any hopes and illusions of this nature. In the plenum there were hundreds of hours of discussion, hundreds of hours of work in commissions, and all this means that the organisation is really functioning, even if it is not functioning at an "organised" level, because the new militants, all authentic libertarians, want to build an organisation which will not be directed by any one individual, and therefore the workings and the organisational form will come into being through a natural and spontaneous process.

Burro: We can state that 29 February 1976 was the date when the CNT began to function organically and this, whatever reservations one may have about it, continued up until the plenum referred to by comrade Edo, a very protracted

plenum which is now beginning to bear fruit. However I would like to mention what went on before the plenum. In my opinion, the reconstitution of the CNT which took place on 20th February was conducted in a non-libertarian fashion by elements which had a free hand up until the plenum. What I want to say is that on 29 February there already existed a prefabricated organisation, set up by a few people who "collected" militants. A relations committee was set up which then transformed itself into a regional committee, when it was no such thing, which functioned unknown to and uncontrolled by the militants. This is typical of an authoritarian organisation but not a libertarian one, even less an anarcho-sindicalist one. During this time, therefore, the CNT was not functioning horizontally, as it ought. The regional plenum dealt with this. The government was hoping that we would become a solely anti-communist organisation but this manoeuvre did not succeed. Then, after 29 February there was even an attempt at infiltration from the State controlled union through the introduction into the CNT of various agents. But this manoeuvre failed as these people were discovered and thrown out. One or two stayed, but they are in no position to achieve anything.

Now as I was saying, we are gathering the fruits of this plenum. What is happening at the moment is that after two months of marathon discussions, the militants have realised that the reason why things are not advancing is because there is a collective inability due to which, apart from two or three unions which are functioning perfectly, most of the unions are going through a process of transformation. Several CNT unions are "ghost" ones; they produce attractive bulletins but have few members and little influence.

This is a contradiction which has developed within the CNT itself, but one must not forget that we are coming out of forty years of dictatorship and that 80% of our militants are in their early twenties and are therefore immature and not very well prepared. What the plenum did was to enable the young militants to get together.

Q: What you have said is somewhat different to what I have heard from some Madrid comrades, Gomez Casas for instance, who state that the organisation is functioning very well even if there are a few practical problems. This suggests to me that the process of reconstructing the CNT varies from city to city. What can you tell me about this?

Edo: I respect the opinions of all comrades, including Gomez Casas who is an old friend of mine. However, I disagree with him on

this point. I have just returned from a National Committee meeting in Madrid, at which Gomez Casas was also present, where the majority of delegates accepted the view which I have just put forward. The problem of the CNT not functioning properly does exist, and it exists everywhere in Spain although it varies from place to place according to the influence of the CNT in different localities. Catalonia is the region where things are going best at the moment. Furthermore, these problems are to be expected in reviving the organisation after forty years.

Q: What is your current activity?

Edo: For about three months the universities, the polytechnics, various groups of workers and the people living in the poorer areas have been asking the various labour organisations to present themselves and this we have done with many groups and we are continuing to do so. There have also been joint representations from the CC.OO., USO and UGT.

Q: Since you have mentioned these organisations, would you tell us which unions are strongest in Barcelona and what contacts the CNT has with these other unions?

Edo: The first answer is that no-one has any real influence over the labour movement at present.

Many authoritarian organisations are trying to enlist the workers, but they are not having much success at the moment. It is impossible to say which is the strongest union in numerical terms. Influence, however, is another matter and I would say that the influence of the CNT has begun to develop for several reasons: on account of its non-hierarchical structure; its refusal to merge itself with a "union front" which is the PCE's (Spanish Communist Party) current attempt to gain control of the labour movement and it must be said that all the forces comprising the CC.OO. have now had to resign themselves to the fact of union plurality; also the CNT's refusal to enter into any kind of pact either with the bosses or the government. A concrete example of this "anti-pact" line is the "Roca de Gava" dispute. La Roca is a manufacturer of machine tools which has four factories and employs about eight of nine thousand workers. The Gava factory, near Barcelona, has been on strike for about seventy days and the only union to be involved in the struggle right from the beginning was the CNT (the UGT is also now involving itself). During this extremely hard conflict, with attacks on delegates and three days behind the barricades against the soldiers, all pre-existing schemes were smashed: the representatives of the state union were rejected shop-floor assemblies were

formed and each department elected its own delegate. The CC.OO. and the USO sabotaged the struggle because it was too radical. We do not know how this dispute will end but what is important is that it vindicates the authentically libertarian course it has taken. The CNT is also present in other factories smaller than La Roca and its particular way of engaging in struggle is increasing its influence. The general strike of 12 November was, in Catalonia and particularly in Barcelona, promoted and sustained by the CNT as against the way that the CC.OO., USO and UGT wanted to conduct it. Of the forty-five stoppages on that day, thirty-three were inspired by the CNT. The influence of the CNT is growing more and more, mainly because of its "anti-pact" stance, and it is in the hope of stopping this growth that the Spanish press do everything they can to avoid giving the CNT any publicity. On the other hand the Communist Party has for all practical purposes editorial control over 60% of Spanish periodicals and thus it is easy for them either to avoid mentioning us or to give a false picture.

Burro: One can give other examples: when the general strike of 12 November was announced, the various syndical groups (in Catalonia the unified syndical organism of which the CC.OO., USO and UGT form parts does exist) consulted with each other and the manifesto which they approved was the one which the CNT had proposed. After the 12th, many workers asked the CNT to discuss its manifesto with them and it was from this moment on that a real influence developed in the workplaces, an influence which polarised the struggle at La Roca and which gave it its savage character. A relevant fact is the latest demonstration in support of La Roca held last week at Cornellà, near Barcelona. On this occasion, in front of everyone who had come to demonstrate and in front of the police lines, the CC.OO. and USO cancelled the demonstration by megaphone (which had been lent to them by the police) provoking a violent reaction on the part of the demonstrators. For its part the CNT held that no-one could cancel the demonstration except the Roca workers themselves.

Q: In a Valencia paper I read about the proposed legalisation of the unions. What position is the CNT taking over this?

Edo: During the national plenum in September the CNT decided to accept legalisation only if there were no conditions of any type attached. The text of the law to which you referred (which is very recent) is acceptable as it stands but it still has to be discussed by the Cortes and therefore no-one knows whether it will be approved or amended. However the text of the previous law was absolutely unacceptable because it limited the number of unions in each sector of a city and also because recognition implied a whole series

of other conditions which were unacceptable to us.

Q: In Valencia the CNT has entered a "workers alliance" with the UGT. How are relations between the two organisations here in Barcelona?

Edo: One must take into account the fact that the process of reconstructing the CNT has been developing at different speeds and in different ways from region to region and city to city. In Valencia this process was initiated more than two years ago and is therefore now in a more advanced phase than in other regions where different circumstances apply.

Q: What is the situation regarding the specifically anarchist movement in Barcelona and how are its relations with the CNT?

Edo: In general the majority of the anarchists support the CNT. I personally believe, although there

Edo: In general the majority of the anarchists support the reconstruction of the CNT. I personally believe, although there are other comrades who do not agree, that the CNT must become more anarchist in content — not through any imposition of anarchist ideas but through a continuing dialectic, a continuing confrontation between its various tendencies, as it was for the CNT of 1936, because it is precisely this characteristic which is the strength of the Confederation. Without this quality things like the collectives would not have happened and nothing new would succeed today. Without this confrontation between the various anarchist tendencies, the CNT would have no influence on the labour movement or alternatively it would fall into reformist trade unionism and the CNT, with its strategy, with its content and with its history is essentially opposed to reformist trade unionism. Today there are new anarchists, who are not syndicalists, who are active in the ANT and their presence is vital to the life of the CNT.

Many anarchists understand the importance of this internal dialectic and are working with us, others do not understand it and they do not join the Confederation. It must be added that there is a solely syndicalist current within the CNT; this I consider to be mistaken because it is precisely the confrontation and the synthesis between anarchism and syndicalism that gave birth to the new anarcho-syndicalist militant.

Q: Are there any specifically anarchist groups which are not in the CNT?

Edo: There is the Mujeres Libres (Free Women) group, which is a young autonomous group of comrades who work extremely well. At the moment they are giving practical support and solidarity to the Roca workers. There is also the libertarian youth (not yet formed into an organisation) which has enormous potential and which, although not in the CNT, supports its

struggles. Taken as a whole these anarchist or libertarian groups have a strength, both in numerical terms and in potential for struggle, that I would say is equal to that of the CNT, but I believe that for a greater development of the whole libertarian area, it is necessary for these groups to enter into this process of confrontation which I spoke of earlier.

Also there are local libertarian groups which for the most part do not belong to the CNT even though they often conduct their activity in collaboration with it. The specifically anarchist movement, therefore, does exist but there is not a specifically anarchist organisation. There have been attempts in this direction and several groups have given themselves an organisational structure but they have no influence as an organisation. Among the anarchist militants in the CNT there are two main streams of opinion: the first holds that it is necessary to organise the FAI immediately and that the FAI militants should work both within and outside the CNT propagandising their ideas, so as to prevent the CNT from sliding into trade-unionism or reformism; the other (to which I adhere) holds that at the moment it is not possible, rather it would be a grave historical error, to constitute the FAI through the decision of a minority of groups or comrades. Therefore I believe that the anarchist militants must come to some agreement on general terms: on the problem of strategy, on the ideological problem and on the problem of relations between the anarchist movement and the CNT, since many militants sustain the absolute independence and autonomy of the CNT from any organisation, even an anarchist one. Obviously all these problems must be discussed and from these discussions the basis for the reconstitution of the organisation of anarchist groups will be born.

Q: Which are the strongest CNT unions in Barcelona?

Burro: It depends on what you mean by strongest — either the number of individuals or the quality of militancy. In numerical terms there are two unions which have over two hundred militants each: the entertainments syndicate and the textile syndicate. On the other hand, the most militant unions are the metal workers' union, the school union and the graphic arts union.

Q: And what about local work?

Burro: At the moment we are trying to create a federation of local committees. In fact there are groups in the various areas of the city which are not operating on an anarcho-syndicalist level, but on a specifically anarchist level. Many anarchists are not in the CNT, and they prefer to concentrate their activity in the areas in which they live where there are enormous possibilities for the diffusion of anarchist ideas. For example, in the area where I live — Santa Coloma de Gramanet — which is a dormitory quarter, the anarchists are the prime political force, both in qualitative and

Peirats cont.

Forty years of Francoism have obliterated the past and today it is necessary to explain everything to Spaniards. Moreover, although Peirats's large history is available in Spain, its price and its great number of pages make preferable a cheaper and clearer presentation, which is in fact a summary of the larger work, a digest very well done and also a true history of Spanish anarchism from 1868.

The presentation adds depth and perspective to all the events, and although since 1962 there have been a lot of studies on many aspects of modern Spain and anarchism, this book remains accurate. For example, the three chapters on self-management which deal with industry, the poverty and backwardness of the rural areas and self-managed agriculture. Ministerial collaboration and the quite curious transformation of the F.A.I. into a political party are presented without demagogery. Every page is useful, crammed with material.

Compared with Richard's "Lessons of the Spanish Revolution", the range is greater in Peirats, who begins in 1868 and ends with the sixties (a page on September 1976). There is the same critique of deviations; Peirats is not so sharp but he produces more evidence. Richards interprets more while Peirats

detects a greater division in the attitudes of the rank and file to the leaders. Both books are good and deserve to be read and compared.

What I appreciate specially is the description of the reconstitution of the C.N.T. in 1931 after nine years underground, because it compares to the actual situation today: dissention in some unions (pp.63, 64), difficulties of going on strike when the other unions are not ready (pp.75, 76). The epilogue is admirable for its lucidity and self-criticism: nothing was to be hoped from the exile and the last page is a salute to the new generations who are the backbone of the Spanish movement, although an important minority of the exiles have achieved much or sacrificed themselves — like Sabate and Facieras — for the sake of Spanish anarchism.

I myself would have emphasised more the period of 1919-1923, to show that capitalism was frightened by the Revolution and that the coup of 1923 was the logical consequence of the repression managed by the Catalan bosses, just as in 1922 Mussolini took over the state to avoid a new occupation of the factories. The military importance of the C.N.T., does not appear, and we now have Cipriano Mera's memoirs and Bolloten's chapters on the Iron Column (not Curtain as p.359)

which gives many examples. But the book is very interesting and the translation (specially p.358) is more concise than the original.

Frank Mintz.

New from Bratach Dubh:

"Critique of Syndicalist Methods trade unionism to anarcho-syndicalism" by Alfredo M. Bonanno with an introduction by Andy McGowan. Bratach Dubh Anarchist pamphlets no.2 (48 pages. 30p) from: Cienfuegos Press Bookservice, Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney, U.K.

Cienfuegos Bookservice Notes:

Would comrades please note that the Penguin edition of the B. Traven novel "Rebellion of the Hanged" is now out of print and they have no plans to reprint in the immediate future.

The Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review, No. 2, 1977, £1.00 (+20 p p+p) is still available hurry now while stocks last. Issue number 3 is scheduled for September publication and will be increased from 64 to 84 pages (A4). Make sure of your copy now by taking out a C.P. Sustaining Subscription which will ensure you a copy of every title published by Cienfuegos Press this year (£6.00).

CNT cont.

quantitative terms but we have no form of co-ordination with other areas and it is for this reason that we are trying to create a federation of local committees.

Edo: I would like to clarify what I told you about the CNT breaking with traditional trade-unionism. I would like to add that there is no organisation which is active both in the workplaces and peoples homes, that is to say in the local areas of the city. We are giving the localities enormous importance and we believe that the CNT, if it truly wishes to become a union composed of all the others, must incorporate both types of activity. A workers' organisation must not limit itself to purely economic activity but must encompass the whole life of the worker.

Q: The CNT is organised through craft unions. Do you not think that this may lead to excessive specialisation and a type of struggle which may contain the seeds of corporativism?

Burro: I personally believe that the CNT ought not to have come into being on 29 February and I believe this for one precise reason: its constitution dates back to 1910 and many years have passed since then and many things have happened. Multi-national companies have come into being, capitalism has developed completely new characteristics and therefore we ought to make sure that the structure adopted by the CNT is still valid today. And therefore I believe that this is a very important and interesting problem for militants to study in order to see whether today this type of organisation is really revolutionary. I

personally have doubts about this as I have found out that many unions are only carrying out economic and reformist activity, whilst it is my belief that the CNT must work on all aspects of everyday life. We must establish another society and therefore the CNT must be the organisation which contains in embryonic form the premises of this new society. But since the CNT is structured through craft syndicates it seems to me that it would be somewhat difficult to get to this state. I belong to the health union and I can say that this union is in a state of crisis because one section of the militants believe in being in the CNT in order to defend their economic and professional interests, others believe in staying in the CNT in order to construct a new society. These two tendencies have divided the union into two parallel sections with different objectives. The section I belong to believes that a health union, in an organisation like the CNT which ought to struggle for social change, is rather nonsensical. Even the name itself is rather restrictive, whilst we think it would be much more meaningful to build a "Public Health & Hygiene" union which would fight for the kind of preventative medicine that you don't get from hospitals. In the meantime all our activity is solely on the level of hospital work. Our activity ought to be in the slum areas because it is there that disease is born because of the conditions of life and the rhythm of labour.

Luis Andres Edo is the Co-ordinating Secretary of the Regional Committee in

Catalonia. After the war he worked in a Barcelona railway office. In 1947 he was arrested for taking food (it was a time of famine) from a railway wagon. He spent two months in prison and lost his job. When called up to serve his "fatherland" he deserted from the army and fled to France where he stayed from 1952 to 1966 working in the CNT in exile as Secretary of the Paris Local Federation. In 1966 he returned to Spain and was arrested in Madrid on a charge of belonging to the CNT (illicit association) and for carrying arms. Sentenced to nine years, he left prison in 1972 and returned to Paris. He came back to Spain in the Spring of 1974 and was again arrested, this time in Barcelona, on the same charge and was sentenced to five years. He came out of prison in June 1976 following Juan Carlos' amnesty.

Luis Burro Molina belongs to the health union. He began his activity in 1968 as a militant in an autonomous group working inside the CC.OO. In May 1970 he was arrested for "illicit association" and spent a month in prison. Meanwhile in Barcelona several anarcho-syndicalist groups were being formed and he joined one of these. He participated in the campaign of solidarity with the M.I.L. prisoners and was again arrested for "illicit association" and for spreading illegal propaganda. He was sentenced to five years and left prison in June 1976.

From Revista Anarchica
vol. vii no. 1, translated by
Giles Todd.

BOOKS

Self-Management. Economic Liberation of Man, edited by Jaroslav Vanek, Penguin, London, 1975, 479pp., £2.00

If we compare this publication which is written from a capitalist point of view with that of the Trotskyist Ernest Mandel, "Controle ouvrier, Conseil ouvrier, Autogestion", we find the same adoration for hierarchy and the same attitude to anarchist vision and experiments.

Vanek's study ignores almost wholly the revolutionary concept of the violent seizure of the means of production and his treatment although good in parts is generally superficial — even from a classical economic viewpoint. But more difficult to accept is his personal vision of self-management "carried out through an efficient system of delegation of authority" (p.14): — if revocation and rotation are not emphasised there automatically follows the creation of a class of leaders — and "the equalisation of income per worker (of equal skill, of course) among industrial branches" (p.35), so that in Vanek's interpretation of self-management, an engineer at Fords will maybe earn the same amount as one in mining or in banking.

A last point on Vanek's lack of seriousness: he says "the Czechoslovakian case was not given time to develop enough for us to be able to categorise it exactly now, but there can be little doubt from the spirit of the reforms that it would have come somewhere under our category, that is, self-management" (pp. 25, 26). We agree with Vanek; and Spain 1936-1939? Is not it a longer and more profound example of the brief year of experience granted from the top in Czechoslovakia? (See the French review "Autogestion" 1970, No. 11, p.6)

The article on marxism and self-management fails to present the Soviet, Yugoslav and Chinese positions in their polemics on the Yugoslavian case (for this see the good study by the French anarchist group "Noir et Rouge" and the analysis of Spain, Yugoslavia and Algeria: "Autogestion, Etat et Revolution").

On Yugoslavia, nobody points out the variations of laws along the years and the need of the State to control the excessive freedom of collectives or to stimulate — with apparent privileges — the low output.

Big news: "Catholic church and workers' participation": I supposed the author was to describe the gunning down of self-management in Spain during the civil war. Not at all: on the contrary, not a word on the francoist repression of workers' rights, but an article on the falange-controlled case of "Mondragon: Spain's Oasis of Democracy", which is a city made famous — or infamous — by the assassinations of Basque ETA militants.

G.D. Garson gives an interesting study on "Recent developments in workers' participation in Europe", but what has it to do with self-management? Another example of the editor's confused outlook. Garson shows that co-management in Germany was not created by laws in 1951, but was "tied to Allied efforts to restructure German industrial power" (p. 164). So in the same period, 1948-1950, a marxist system under Tito and a capitalist system in Germany gave more phoney rights to workers in order to bring about a considerable rise in output. German co-management is copied increasingly in Norway and Denmark.

Two other examples of the absurd are a study on the development of eastern and western countries, which is useless because all statistics on the East are falsified, and a study by P. Blumberg on participation which concludes on prisons: "those . . . (with) the idea of inmate self-government tend to believe it worthwhile... It creates a situation where staff and inmates are conceived as part of a co-operative unit" (p. 337).

However, a clear study of Israel tells us that "the average kibbutz has a population of 400" with a total close to 100,000 in 1970, that is 3.6% of Jewish population (of course, there are no Arab kibbutzim). Compared with Spain, it is on a very small scale.

A clear observation by J.C. Bellas on the United States, which we apply to all cases: in a production co-operative "when owners are interested in maximisation of worker income at the expense of profit or company survival, survival as a co-operative is impossible." "Under their current methods of operation, the key of longevity appears to be in their ability to reach peak operating efficiency while rejecting over expansion." (pp. 211, 212).

The book ends with a very technical chapter on economics with mathematics and graphs, but no mention of strikes, crises or revolutions, wars, or above all, workers' attitudes.

Frank Mintz

Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution, Jose Peirats, Solidarity Books, Toronto, 1977, 400pp, illustrated, £2.35p.

Peirats is known as the author of "La C.N.T. en la revolucion espanola" in three volumes (1952; republished 1972), which is essential reading on the social history of modern Spain. In 1961, Peirats contributed a series of articles to the Italian review "Volonta" which were collected in the book "Breve storia del sindacalismo libertario spagnolo" in 1962. These articles were used again for a Spanish edition in Argentina in 1964, with slight modifications, and this edition — recently published in Spain — is now available in English.

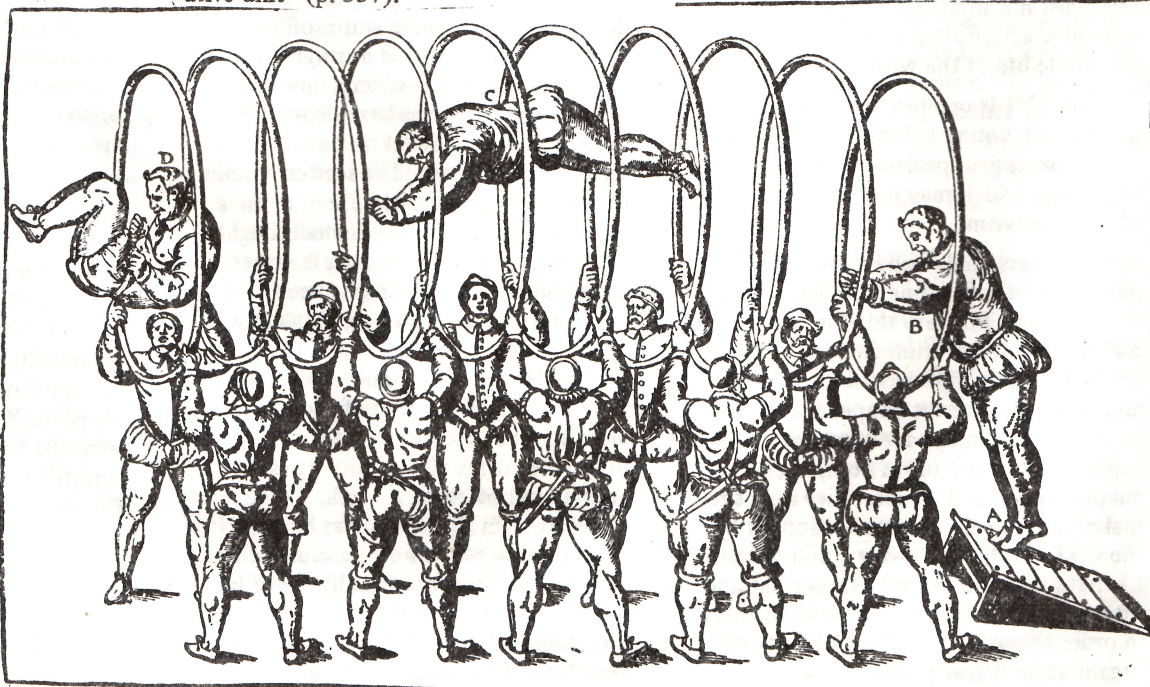
So Spanish and English readers have the same text with which to become acquainted not only with the history and problems of anarchist Spain, but also with the history and problems of modern Spain.

Cont. on previous page

A SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION OF:

Marxist Politicians Changing the Party Line
or
Leninists Demonstrating the Principle of a Workers' State
or
The Labour Party Defending the Pound
or
Members of the Anarchist Workers Association Expelling Each Other from the Platform.
or
The Creation of a New Section of the Trotskyist Fourth International
or
A Fund-Raising Event for Black Flag
or...?

(Prizes for all good entries but, please, no references to Freedom Press editorial meetings or Philip Sansom demonstrating his wonderful oratorical abilities to young admirers.)



Letters

Dear Comrades,

This concerns the "In Memoriam" column celebrating the heroic act of Herschel Grynszpan in assassinating the Nazi vom Rath in 1938. It looks as if there was a typesetter's mistake as to the year of his birth. Grynszpan was born in 1921, not 1911 (ENCYCLOPAEDIA JUDAICA, Vol. 7, p.954, Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1971). He was therefore only 17 years old when he shot vom Rath. It is not known when, and if, he died. The elaborate show trial planned for Grynszpan never came off; he seemed to have disappeared in 1942 (see Rita Thalmann & Emmanuel Feinermann, *CRYSTA NIGHT 9-10 NOVEMBER 1938*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1974). He was sighted — alive! — in Paris in 1957 (see Gerald Reitlinger, *THE FINAL SOLUTION*, New York, Thomas Yoselof, 1961 — 2nd edition, p. 33; and Raoul Hilberg, *THE DESTRUCTION OF THE EUROPEAN JEWS*, Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1967, p. 655. Both Reitlinger and Hilberg give the same source for this conclusion: Kurt Crossman, "Herschel Gruenspan lebt!", *AUFBAU*, New York, May 10, 1957).

It is interesting to note that Paris was also the city where another anti-Semitic tyrant, Petliura, was shot in 1926 — again for reasons of vengeance. Justice was meted out to Petliura by Sholem Schwartzbard. Schwartzbard was acquitted for his heroic act. (see "Sholem Schwartzbard: Memoirs of an Assassin" in Lucy S. Dawidowicz's *THE GOLDEN TRADITION*, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967).

In Solidarity
Shelby Shapiro

Dear Comrades,

I quite enjoyed the latest issue of Black Flag. A number of the articles were both informative and interesting, particularly "Unopened Pages of Working Class History" and "Remember Hull '76". There are just a couple of points of disagreement however that I would like to mention.

1) "Who Is to Run Industry?" in my opinion contains a number of assumptions about the nature and content of the Leyland Toolmakers' strike which are completely

mistaken. The strike was essentially about the erosion of the 'differentials' of skilled persons. Toolroom committee spokespersons continually emphasised this fact. Far from raising the issue of workers' self management as your correspondent suggests, the workers were in effect demanding improvements in the existing managerial structure (greater efficiency, expertise, competence, etc.) to ensure that their status and privileges as 'aristocrats' of labour would be safeguarded within a viable and profitable company. At no time to my knowledge was any attempt made by the workers to develop the dispute along lines that promoted self activity and self management. The fundamental need in the Leyland situation was to develop a unity of working people across craft lines and irrespective of skills, on an anarcho-syndicalist basis. Unfortunately, recognition of this need was conspicuous by its absence. The pernicious influence of differentials fosters major divisions in the working class and facilitates the process of economic exploitation through the mechanism of the wages system.

While it is true that the toolroom workers were antagonistic to their union leadership, it is a little fanciful to portray the strikers as an embryonic 'workers council'. To search for examples of genuine self activity is very praiseworthy, but to invent its existence is an exercise in self deception. Instead of rejecting leadership per se the strikers expressed their concern at the failure of the union bureaucracy to provide an effective leadership.

2) "Roon 'n' Aboot" on 'High Living' makes some comments about living in tower blocks that cannot be allowed to go unchallenged. Do people really enjoy living in high rise dwellings in the midst of concrete jungles? A close examination of the 'social neuroses' of people subjected to such experience would cast serious doubt on this proposition. To house people in this manner is both dehumanising and alienating. The consequences for families, young children, the old and the infirm of this style of living are too horrific to contemplate both in physical and psychological terms. High rise living is an environmental and social disaster and should be viewed as such.

Notwithstanding these reservations, I

felt this was a good issue of Black Flag.

Yours in solidarity,
Barry Woodling

1) *It is just not true that the strike (totally misrepresented in the national press) was about differentials. It was not even about pay. The press always seeks to distort every strike attempt and to portray it in false colours, so as to denigrate the workers — precisely as it does with revolutionary movements. However, even if the strike were about 'differentials' this is a slanted word invented by journalists (anxious enough to maintain their own special status). People naturally want, at least, to keep up with the rise in prices. Against what, in a capitalist society, is the worth of a job measured? One should measure up, not measure down (and anyway one does it). The "aristocrats" of labour*

have their skills to sell, but the 'muscle' has its muscle to sell (and sometimes gets more for it in the market) — their labour power is all they have to bargain with at present. That's pretty elementary. A workers' council isn't something in the distant future, it's something developed out of the wage struggle; or nothing at all. As the tool makers rejected the trade union leadership (for whatever reason) this was the birth of a workers' council with the same significance as the shop stewards' movement that started in the first world war. What it will go on to remains to be seen.

2) *Some people do enjoy living in some tower blocks. (I do.) The press seems determined to give municipal housing a bad name even when it doesn't deserve it. Nobody ever said that Mayfair penthouses were 'concrete jungles' or 'disasters', terms which are reserved for workers living better than they did. Not all people are old, infirm or have young*

families: the whole point was that the municipal spokesman felt it was a revolutionary discovery that people should have a choice of whether high rise flats, clean air and a view should suit them.

A M

Pete and Jean Miller are pleased to announce the arrival of the world's youngest anarchist, Alexander James, born Leicester 27, 4, 77.

Answers to Quiz:

1. Walt Disney, born into a socialist family, learned the art of cartooning by contributing to revolutionary papers before his talents attracted the eye of the film people, leading him to fame, fortune and spiritual bankruptcy.
2. Only that the Soviet Military Intelligence GRU (Razvedupr) has its headquarters in Kropotkin Square, Moscow — but it was named after one of the family, in Tsarist times, not after the rebel.
3. The term chauvinist for an enthusiastic patriot came from Chauvin, a typical Napoleonic veteran full of pride for the old days of military glory though cut to

pieces and, among other disabilities, like many over bold old soldiers, was physically incapable any longer of male sexual arrogance.

4. The theory that further reforms to the system are impossible — that capitalism has granted all the reforms it can and we had reached more or less its limits; the only advance was by revolution. The Impossibilists (an offshoot was the SPGB) tended to rationalise away the role of the State and thus the possibility of renewed oppression even if capitalism decayed.
5. Though all subscribing to the perennial myth that "youth" was going to make a new world free from the past etc., etc., between a century and a century-and-a-

half ago — the Young Turks believed in the regeneration of their country by modernisation, Westernisation and capitalism; Young England was a dream of a union between the Tory landowning aristocracy and the industrial workers (who were being oppressed by the capitalists, then Liberals); Young Germany was a belief in nationalist republicanism, but with socialist tinges; Young Ireland was an attempt to relieve religious disabilities and introduce landowning and democratic reforms — it did not go so far as republicanism; Young Italy was anti-clerical, socialist and republican.

6. If there was anarchy there would be no united kingdom.

An Open Letter to J. Carter

Mr. James Carter, President,
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington D.C. 20500.

Mr. President,

Due to your recent stand on human rights, I want to call your attention to the wholesale violation of human rights here at the United States Penitentiary, Marion, Illinois.

There is a prison within a prison here called the long-term control unit. It has become known throughout the world as the "notorious" H-Unit. Prisoners are sent here from all across the United States to undergo behavioral modification treatment. Any prisoners who refuse to accept the dehumanising prison system, and who speak out through the courts of the news media are likely candidates for the long term control unit.

At the present time, there are 47 prisoners confined here. 27 Blacks, 4 Chicanos, 16 Whites. The place is divided into two units. One unit houses 11 Whites, 3 Blacks and 1 Chicano. This is called the working section. Here the men are allowed out of their cages four hours to work and four hours for television and other benefits. Section two houses 24 Blacks, 3 Chicanos and 5 Whites. They remain in their cages for 23½ hours daily.

The treatment programme in the control unit consists of: physical beatings with baseball bats, forced druggings, mental torture, restrictive diet. Prisoners are used as guinea pigs for untested control methods and mind-depressing drugs. There have been numerous suicides.

The prisoners are given the barest minimum of required calories to sustain human life. Prisoners complain of food being laced with foreign matter, from ground glass to human faeces and urine. In a recent news report, the U.S. Bureau of Prisons admitted that prisoners were on a restrictive diet, had been drugged, beaten, and that guards kept a container of urine which they used to douse prisoners with. They maintain that this place is necessary.

The Bureau of Prisons and Warden James Riggsby contend that H-unit is

used to house "the most dangerous men in America." Listed below is a profile of the "most dangerous men in America."

Ismail Muslim Ali (LaBeet) has been in the control unit for 13 months. Reason? "Out of place." He was in an unassigned area, talking to some of his friends. He is a Muslim.

Andrew D. Kelly has been in the control unit on indefinite status — 5 months so far. Reason? "Insolence to a white guard."

Randolph B. Peoples has been in the control unit since October 1976. Reason? "Refusing to obey an order."

Eddie Griffin, chairman of the Black Cultural Society, has been in the control unit for six months. Reason? He received a letter from the Free World asking all prisoners to boycott 4th of July events.

George Blue, a chairman of the National Prisoners Association, has been in the control unit since May 21, 1976. Reason? "Unauthorised use of mail." He put a letter to the warden in the wrong mailbox.

Donovan B.X. Gilliam has been in control units since June, 1974. Reason? "Verbally threatened an officer." He is a Muslim.

Milton Raines has been in the control unit since January, 1977. Reason? "Suspicion of having a knife and a past history of insolence to staff."

Spencer Chinn has been in control units since October, 1976. Reason? "Insolence to a White staff."

Hanif M. Shabazz (Gereau) has been in the control unit since May, 1974. Reason? "A fist fight." He is a Muslim.

Lawrence Bey has been in the control unit since April, 1976. Reason? 900 prisoners staged a peaceful work stoppage. He was the only one put into the control unit. He is a Muslim.

Steve Wooden has been in the control unit since October, 1976. Reason? "Assaulting another prisoner." Since then, another prisoner has confessed to this deed. Wooden was found guilty because of his hostile attitude and his size!

James Watson has been in the control unit since December, 1976. Reason? "Encouraging a boycott." He is a member of the Black Cultural Society.

Mr. President, the above are the "most dangerous black men in America." They have committed "terrible" rule violations to earn this label from the Warden and the Bureau of Prisons. Eight other Blacks are charged with some type of assault. 5 are on a variety of lesser charges. 2 Chicanos and 2 Blacks are charged with murder. 1 Chicano was charged with assault. Of the 16 Whites, most were charged with escape; 4 are charged with assault. No Whites were charged with "insolence", putting letters in the wrong mailbox, being out of place, or refusing to obey an order.

There is a strong implication of political, religious and racist motives by the Warden and Bureau of Prisons behind these 12 men who were labelled "dangerous." The Bureau of Prisons, in a very racist statement, claimed that Blacks were more violence-prone than Whites. Yet there is documented proof that a large number of Whites were tried for murder and assault; none, however, were placed in the control unit. Instead, they were transferred to other prisons.

Mr. President, on March 18, 1977, two days after you addressed the U.N. on human rights, the Bureau of Prisons banned all Communist newspapers, as well as "The Progressive," one of the oldest magazines in the U.S. Reason? "This publication is being rejected by this institution because it has a tendency to glorify problem inmates, homosexuals and prison unions which have been a problem to inmates and staff in the security and good orderly running of these institutions." This is reminiscent of the Nazi book burning and cleansing of the libraries. All these papers, as well as "The Progressive" had printed stories or editorials about the control unit at one time or another.

In closing, I wish to say that I hope you will show the same concern for our rights as you did for Vladimir Bukovsky and Andrei Sakharov. Thank you.

George Blue 27559-138
P.O. Box 1000
U.S. Concentration Camp,
Marion, Illinois 62959.

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Military Intelligence?

The advert on the left is not a joke. It appeared in the April/May issue of the Open University magazine, *Sesame*, and was brought to the attention of *Undercurrents*, the radical alternative technology magazine. Believing it to be some sort of hoax an *Undercurrents* reporter phoned the London number to be told that further details would be forwarded to the caller together with an application form which was to be returned to the H.Q. of the T.A.V.R. Intelligence and Security Group at 1 Fitzjohn's Avenue, Hampstead. Would any aspiring Kim Philbys in the anarchist movement please keep us informed through the usual channels (i.e. the classified ad section of *Black Flag*). Also, please remember that the Orkney Islands don't accept defectors.... yet!